West Virginia History

A Quarterly Magazine

July, 1940

Roy Bird Cook, *Editor* Innis C. Davis, *Managing Editor*

VOLUME 1 NUMBER 4

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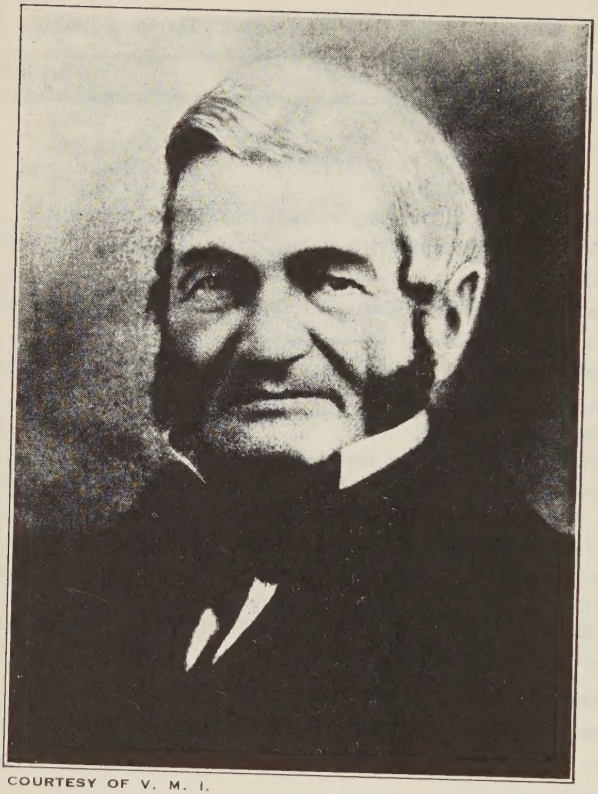
West Virginia History, a quarterly magazine published in January, April, July, and October, by the State Department of Archives and History, Charleston, West Virginia.

Subscription price ..... $2.00 per year
Single number ..... 50 cents

Correspondence concerning contributions, books for review, and subscriptions may be sent to the editors, care of the Department of Archives and History.

The Department of Archives and History assumes no responsibility for statements made by contributors.

Offices: State Capitol, Charleston, West Virginia.



COURTESY OF V. M. I.

Colonel Claudius Crozet

Colonel Claudius Crozet*
1789-1864

By Colonel Wm. Couper

Engineers come and engineers go, but fortunate indeed is the State which has enlisted the services of one whose vision is broad enough to plan successfully for the future. Such was the good fortune of the Commonwealth of Virginia when Claudius Crozet, a native of France, who had been teaching engineering at the United States Military Academy, assumed the office of principal engineer.

Claudius Crozet was not so called in his youth. He was christened Benoit and all of the early records use this name. While he was a little boy the great scientific school—L'Ecole Polytechnique—was established in France as a protest against the tradition of devoting effort in places of higher learning almost exclusively to literary and abstract studies. This school, which became one of the famous technical institutions in the world, was but ten years old when Crozet left his home at Villefranche, near Lyons, and enrolled. He remained two years in this school, which was the particular pet of Napoleon, who called it "the hen that lays golden eggs for me." At the end of two years, or in 1807, Crozet left this school and, at the age of seventeen, continued his studies in the School of Application at Metz, where he specialized in studies pertaining to the artillery branch of the army. It was characteristic of L'Ecole Polytechnique then, as it is now, that it trained young men for both civilian and military careers. Specialization in the chosen field was

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*Source information has been omitted. Those interested in reading further will find elaborate documentation in the biography, *CLAUDIUS CROZET, Soldier-Scholar-Educator-Engineer, (1789-1864)*, published by the Historical Publishing Co., Inc., Charlottesville, Va., in 1936. The documents used as illustrations in this article are from the N. Knox Wilson Collection, now at V. M. I.

later pursued in Schools of Application which extended the courses given in L'Ecole Polytechnique.

Soon after leaving L'Ecole Polytechnique, Crozet dropped the name Benoit and assumed that of Claudius, probably due to the not uncommon custom among the citizens of France, after the French Revolution, of dropping their given name and adopting that of some well-known Roman. The change of name was developed in correspondence with the authorities at L'Ecole Polytechnique. In after life many people used the name Claude in referring to Crozet, although that was not his custom. His signature almost invariably was written C. Crozet, and when the first name was used it was written in full—Claudius.

Crozet's military record has been preserved with unusual completeness and authenticity by the certificate, issued by the French War Ministry, which he brought to America and which is reproduced as a part of this article. While teaching at West Point, however, he was classified as a civilian professor, although his old title of Captain was used occasionally. The title, Colonel, by which he has for generations been known, was probably conferred by the State of Virginia and has been in use since 1826.

Crozet's service in the army started in 1809, just in time to enable him to be present at the Battle of Wagram. Later he served in the Low Countries and then took part in Napoleon's invasion of Russia where he served with Marshal Ney, who commanded the general advance guard. It was during this campaign that he received from the hand of the Emperor the Cross of the Legion of Honor and this relic is now in the museum of the United States Military Academy at West Point.

Few of those who crossed the River Niemen lived to recross it and Crozet was one of the exceptions, but he did not return with the French troops. He was captured on the retreat from Moscow and, by good fortune, spent much of the time he was a prisoner of war in the custody of a Russian nobleman who took a fancy to the scholarly soldier and sent

the young captive to his own home with letters commending him to the special care of his family.

In this period of exile, Crozet whiled away some of the time by writing a discourse which he called "Grammaire Russe," a manuscript of one hundred and thirteen pages designed for French readers. It was not the only grammar he wrote, and among his papers are others pertaining to the French and German languages. All of these writings fortunately have been preserved, although they are items of curiosity rather than documents of intrinsic value.

After the abdication of Napoleon, Crozet returned to his native land; resumed his military activities; and had a part in the military operations which culminated at Waterloo. The task of bringing needed ammunition to the battlefield had been assigned to him but the delivery was delayed by the condition of the roads and some enthusiastic writers imply that the results at Waterloo might have been different under more favorable transportation conditions. Soon after Napoleon landed at St. Helena, Crozet, then a twenty-six-year-old child of the revolution, could not conceive of France without the Emperor and his thoughts turned westward across the seas to the young republic which was then in the making. Many details of his life to this time are succinctly enumerated in the certificate which was issued to him by the Ministry of War.

The year 1816 was an important milestone in Crozet's life. In that year he married; he came to America; and he found employment at the United States Military Academy where he was to serve seven years as the Professor of Engineering. Crozet was not the first Professor of Engineering at the Military Academy, as Captain Alden Partridge had been assigned that title a few years before, but Partridge, who was graduated at West Point in 1806, never practiced engineering[1] and to Crozet goes the honor of introducing the study of engineering as it is now known. At the time West

[1]He was graduated October 30, 1806—the fifteenth graduate of the Military Academy; appointed professor of engineering, September 1, 1813; he was located at West Point during his entire career in the army.

Point was "the only School of Engineering in the country," wrote John H. B. Latrobe, who was a cadet under Crozet's tutelage and who was later well known as a lawyer (he was counsel of the B. & O. R. R.), inventor (Latrobe stove), public servant, and author. "There are persons," continued Latrobe, "whose appearance is never effaced from the memory. Of this class was the professor of the art of engineering. Colonel Claude Crozet, a tall, somewhat heavily-built man, of dark complexion, black hair and eyebrows, deep set eyes, remarkable for their keen and bright expression, a firm mouth and square chin, a rapid speech and strong French accent. I can, even after the lapse of between sixty and seventy years, fancy that I see the man before me. He had been an engineer under Napoleon at the battle of Wagram and elsewhere, and the anecdotes with which he illustrated his teaching were far more interesting than the 'Science of War and Fortification,' which was the name of our textbook at the time. . . ."

Crozet was handicapped by the lack of textbooks in the little-taught art of engineering and it was necessary to write his own texts. This was particularly true of descriptive geometry, and his *Treatise on Descriptive Geometry,* issued in 1821, is the pioneer American textbook in that subject. Later in life he wrote another book called *Arithmetic for Colleges and Schools*—it was published in 1848. The limitations of a short article prevent an exact appraisal of his mathematical ability, but the report of the Board of Visitors of the United States Military Academy, made in 1822, states that "Captain Crozet is by far the best mathematician in the United States."

The West Point professorship is particularly interesting because Crozet began his service there just at the time when the Military Academy was being revived. No diploma was issued at West Point in 1816 and that affords some idea of the low estate to which the Academy had fallen when Crozet began his service in the fall of that year, for neither before nor since has there been a class without a graduate. It was

in the following year (1817) that Major Silvanus Thayer became Superintendent at West Point and with him began the Military Academy as it is known today.

The climate of New York did not agree with Crozet. He sought a field to the southward and it was natural that he should make inquiry of a new educational institution which was being established under a particularly eminent group of citizens—the University of Virginia. The inquiry was addressed to Thomas Jefferson, who had been the Minister to France, and in writing his letter, in March, 1821, Crozet took the liberty of addressing Mr. Jefferson in the French language. At that time, however, the buildings at the University were not completed and in his reply Mr. Jefferson said, "We are as yet far from the time at which we may think of procuring professors for our University."

Although disappointed in continuing his professional duties in a milder climate, Crozet watched for an opportunity to leave West Point and it came when Colonel William McRee declined an appointment as State Engineer tendered by the Virginia Board of Public Works. Within five months Crozet had received the appointment; resigned his position at the Military Academy; and taken the oath of office in Virginia—this was on June 2, 1823.

In colonial days people who lived on the bays and water courses had access to the commercial marts of the country and of the world, but those who had migrated beyond the natural waterways were not so fortunate. It was to take care of the westward trend of the settlers that it was necessary to construct highways for intercommunication, and in the course of time the heavier commodities were transported in boats, frequently on canals or other waterways fashioned by the hand of man.

The purpose of the first project on which Crozet was engaged in Virginia was to make the Slate River navigable. The extent of Crozet's imagination in successfully carrying out this project can best be visualized today by pausing as one rides along Route U. S. 60, a few hundred yards west of

Buckingham Courthouse, and examining Slate River. The highway sign tells us it is a river, although there is almost no waterway and yet the bottom land indicates that in times of flood the watershed will greatly increase the flow of the tiny stream which one customarily sees. This, however, was the first of many Virginia waterway and highway projects which were designed, constructed, or supervised by Colonel Crozet.

The great avenue of communication in those days, the 1820's, was the James River Valley and, as finally developed, it was to provide water-borne commercial transportation beyond the Blue Ridge Mountains as far as the present town of Buchanan. From there a highway was projected through and over the Alleghenies to the upper reaches of the Kanawha River where water transportation would continue the route on to the Ohio, the western objective.

Although this was considered to be the principal route, Crozet devoted his attention to many other through or interstate routes in addition to the vast network of feeders. His interest was largely concerned, however, with the through routes, and that his judgment in the selection of these routes was sound is indicated by their existence today. One may start today at the Atlantic Ocean east of Norfolk on Route U. S. 60 and travel approximately the path of the old James River and Kanawha Canal through Virginia and West Virginia, and the journey may be continued entirely across the country until the road terminates where the waters of the Pacific lap the shore line of the harbor of Los Angeles. Or going a bit farther north, we may take another one of Crozet's through routes, known in the early days as the North-West Turnpike, which in its time was one of the most important highways in developing the present State of West Virginia. We find it is still an important highway, starting at Annapolis as Route U. S. 50, continuing through the National Capital and on westward through Parkersburg to the Pacific Coast at San Francisco. Or we may take another through route, Route U. S. 40 which passes through

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6e Division.

Bureau du Personnel de l'Artillerie

N.° 217.

Certifié par le Chef du Bureau, le Lieutenant Général d'art.

Le Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat de la Guerre,

Certifie à tous qu'il appartiendra, avoir, sous l'autorisation du Roi, accepté la démission offerte par le S.r Crozet (Claude) de son Emploi de Capitaine au Corps Royal de l'Artillerie.

et permis à cet Officier, natif de Villefranche

Département du Rhône, de se retirer dans ses

foyers, comme détaché de tous Corps, et dispensé du Service

militaire aux Armées. Services de cet Officier né le 31 xbre 1789.

Vu

par le Chef de Division,

Lieutenant général Inspecteur

général Bart.

Élève de l'École Polytechnique le .....

Élève sous-lieutenant d'artillerie à l'École d'application à Metz 1er 9bre = 1807.

sous-lieutenant en 2e au 8e Régiment le ... 9 Juin 1809

sous-lieutenant en 1er au même Corps le ... 16 8bre = 1809

Capitaine en 2e aux États-majors du Corps le ... 28 Juillet 1812

Classé et mis en non activité de service pour attendre dans leur Compagnie de son grade, dans le Régt. de Bourbon, la réorg.on du Corps royal en 1814 et à compter du 1er 9bre = 1814.

Remis en activité de service par le Mre royale du 9 mars 1815 et attaché en deux grades au Gal général Bart. à Strasbourg ..... 1er avril 1815.

Campagnes { Les années 1809 en Allemagne, 1812, 1813 en Hollande 1814 à la grde Armée en Russie; Prés. années ——— de Guerre à la fin de la Campagne de 1812 en Russie, rentré en France le 20 avril 1814.
——— 1815 en France }

En foi de quoi, le présent Certificat a été délivré pour servir et valoir ce que de raison.

Fait à Paris, le 11 Avril 1816.

Le Ministre Secrétaire d'État de la Guerre,

Dupont.

COURTESY OF V. M. I.

Certificate issued to Colonel Claudius Crozet by the Minister of War in France

the Panhandle of West Virginia, a through route which starts at Atlantic City and terminates at the Golden Gate. It is not given to many men to lay out highways which continue in use and extend beyond the current horizon and eventually span a continent, but here are three such principal transcontinental thoroughfares, and the feeders are now legion.

In addition to his vision in conceiving the proper routes for these avenues of communication, it was Crozet's privilege to direct the actual work of construction.

Long ahead of his fellows, however, he conceived the idea of a great traffic artery to the southwest, terminating at the Mississippi River and far in advance of his fellows he conceived this to be a railroad. It was an unholy thought. He had to describe a railroad and his reports teem with learned discourses on the advantages of this new form of transportation. One of the reports starts out, "What in fact is a railway?" His technical training clearly showed the reason why this particular form of road would be more advantageous than the macadamized roads which were being used for horse-drawn vehicles. Said he:

> The resistance opposed by friction varies according to the nature of the substance placed in contact; it is proportional to the weight moved, and remains the same whatever may be the velocity given; in this last peculiarity consists the advantage of the rail-ways.
>
> On a canal, on the contrary, the resistance increases as the square of the velocity of the boat, and consequently, as I have remarked in speaking of navigation, a rapid rate of velocity, besides the injury it does to the banks of the canal, will allow of but small weights being carried on it.
>
> Whereas, on a rail-way, if a power be capable of overcoming the resistance opposed by friction, it will, without additional exertion, not only keep the body in motion, but since friction is independent of velocity, it will continue to accelerate the speed without any other limits than the extent of the velocity which the propelling power itself is capable.

The powerful political and financial interests in Virginia at that time were all connected with the turnpike companies or with the canals. The canal interests were by far the most

powerful in the State and, as late as the 1850's, the largest corporation in Virginia was the James River and Kanawha Canal Company. These gentlemen did not take kindly to the suggestion that the railroad should supplant the canal and it was not long before the legislators abolished the office of principal engineer, with the result that it was necessary for Crozet to seek employment elsewhere.

Today we find a very different condition. Legislators have recently passed bills under which the people along the water courses of the eastern part of Virginia may be benefited by authority granted the State Highway Department to take over a number of bridges and ferries. This action was made necessary because the type of transportation has been completely changed by the extraordinary development of the motor vehicle. The population which formerly had access to the marts of the country by reason of its location on waterways is now cut off from the larger centers in the interior by these same waterways.

With the victory of the canal group, Virginia again lost her opportunity to compete favorably for the great commerce of the West with the more farsighted states of the North, some of which had already projected railroads westward. A part of the canal project was eventually completed, it is true, but the next generation was to see the canal a mass of ruins, its towpath the bed of a railroad. Now, a century later, the people of Virginia have only the bonds, which have bled a staggering sum in interest, to remind them that they might have been indebted to a sagacious French engineer for economic advancement had they accepted the project for which he fought and was willing to sacrifice his position rather than his convictions.

Colonel Crozet found employment almost immediately in Louisiana, where he went in 1832, as the State engineer, and there he began to conduct the same type of farsighted planning he had followed in Virginia, with the exception that his roads were projected eastward—from the Mississippi River toward the city of Washington. He proposed leaving

the river at a suitable point; striking eastward through Mississippi and Alabama toward the southern-most bend of the Tennessee River; and thence along the great valley of the Tennessee to the trails which would lead him to the Shenandoah Valley in Virginia.

Health, however, soon compelled another change from labor in the unsalubrious lowlands and Crozet returned to the field of education—this time to Jefferson College. There, in the Parish of St. James, about midway between New Orleans and Baton Rouge, he served as president for four years, starting in 1833.

After about seven years under the new public works regime, the people of Virginia learned that the railroad was a force to be reckoned with and Crozet was recalled to his former office. It was, alas, too late to gain the mastery which would have resulted from being first in the field. Crozet, however, at once began work along the same lines he had followed before and he lived to see not only the highways which he had projected in full use, but he also lived to see the railroads following the through routes to the west and southwest along the courses which he had conceived in his dreams years before. It was on October 4, 1840, that an iron packet boat returned to Richmond from Columbia, and on December 3 the freight boat "General Harrison" and another entered the basin at Lynchburg from Richmond—the first boats to make the full trip.

Among the longer roads built by Crozet in West Virginia was the North-West Turnpike, which was about 220 miles long; the Staunton-Parkersburg Turnpike, about 225 miles; and the road which we now know as Route U. S. 60, which is about 200 miles long. In memory of this extraordinary mileage of roads built under extremely adverse conditions, the State named a part of the Staunton-Parkersburg Turnpike the Crozet Memorial Highway, which in the course of time has been entirely rebuilt and changed to meet modern conditions, with the exception of a section between Beverly and Mabie. The road here runs over Rich Mountain which

is a thousand feet high, and it also passes by the battlefield of Rich Mountain. The section is about nine miles long and it represents most of the varied and difficult problems which Crozet met and overcame in his mountain road building, and, therefore, today it stands as an interesting exhibit. This piece of road is fourteen times as long as it is high. It is eighteen feet wide and exhibits all the Crozet specifications for grade and curvature.

The service as principal engineer of the State this time lasted six years and was terminated by a period of retrenchment when the legislature, in 1843, again abolished the office. But Crozet, who returned to the educational field by opening a grade school in Richmond, continued his public service by preparing a new and much needed map of the State.

The conditions in Virginia soon after Crozet's talents were next enlisted were described by Governor John B. Floyd in the report of the Board of Public Works for 1851. He said:

> Probably no State in the Union has in a few years so radically changed its policy upon the subject of internal improvement as Virginia. The revolution in public opinion has been almost complete. Scarcely a section of our widely extended Commonwealth is not awake to the transcendent importance of the subject.

At the time, 1851, Virginia had 677 miles of completed railroad and 637 additional miles were in process of construction. Eliminating the B. & O., the capital stock of these railroads was slightly over sixteen million dollars, and the State's interest in them was about 46 per cent of that amount. In addition to the railroads, there were 872 miles of "the most capacious and substantially constructed canals in the Union, and turnpike roads, a large portion of them of the first order of grade and construction, measuring about 3,000 miles in length." Such was the condition of the "internal improvements" at the time—works which, when completed as then projected, would cause a public debt of about twenty million dollars. The future seemed

bright and the bonds were "commanding high premiums in the markets at home and abroad."

In the westward course of one of these railroads, now the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway, it was felt that the great cost of passing over or through the Blue Ridge Mountains would deter private capital from financing the enterprise, and, in consequence, the State incorporated the Blue Ridge Railroad. This line, only seventeen miles in length, was a railroad within a railroad and all the stock was owned by the State. It included the approaches to the summit of the Blue Ridge and a tunnel near the summit. Crozet was employed as the chief engineer, in 1849, and the location of this railroad has not been materially altered with the passage of the years. The tunnel at the summit under Rockfish Gap proved to be a long and arduous undertaking. It was not the first of the railroad tunnels but it was the first long tunnel and it is in use today. There Crozet labored for eight years. The main tunnel is 4,273 feet long, but it was the nature of the rock and other material encountered and overcome with the meager equipment available at the time that made this early undertaking notable.

The spectacular features of this tunnel have made it customary to think of this mountain passage in terms of a single tunnel, but there were three others on this project and some of them proved most troublesome. Add to the treachery of the rock encountered the handicap of boring a tunnel without benefit of compressed air, power driven shovels, dump-cars, or the vast array of equipment found on such projects today, and we have some idea of the difficulties which were overcome on this pioneer enterprise. But the solid substances which resisted the tunnel builders, who were compelled to work from the two portals because it was found impracticable to utilize intermediate shafts, were not the only deterrents. There were labor troubles; financial depressions which caused the State bonds used in paying for the work to sink below par; land slides and numerous other construction difficulties. One of these incidents was thus referred

to: ". . . we were suddenly taken by surprise by the eruption of a large vein of water, for which we were obliged to take hands from their work, and set them to pumping, until we could obtain machinery for the same purpose, working by horsepower." Later he devised and used "a siphon 2,000 feet long and 3 inches in diameter, it being the longest siphon on record," said one of Crozet's reports in 1853, and later on this achievement took its place in the scientific literature of the engineering profession.

Before the completion of the subterranean line, trains were operated over the summit of the ridge by means of switchbacks about four years, and the first scheduled train passed through the tunnel itself on April 12, 1858.

With the passage of the years caustic critics had indulged in frequent editorial attacks on the chief engineer of the tunnel—the project would never be finished. These puny people are long since forgotten; the mountain range ceased to be a barrier to economic transportation and so well was the problem solved that today, ninety-one years after the tunnels were designed, they carry traffic pulled by enormous locomotives far beyond the dreams of Crozet. But are they so far beyond his dreams? Crozet designed the tunnels, supervised their construction, and they are still in use.

In conversation Colonel Crozet was noted for his wit and his *bon mots* were on the lips of many people who knew him. His public reports teem with discourses which deal with fundamental principles and are valuable to students of transportation and of commercial forces. The mental attainments, which actuated this scintillating wit, the profound scientific achievements, and the envisionment of vast engineering projects, were tempered in this many-sided man by human traits which are reflected in a letter, written in 1829, to his little daughter. It read:

My dear Child:

I have but a moment to write you and must make haste to answer your pretty letter. I was quite pleased with your writing; continue to attend to it, do not write much, but well. Reading and writing do not constitute an education but they are most important in acquiring it;

and the possibility of corresponding with me will, I hope, encourage you.

My rheumatism is still lingering in one of my legs. The weather has been continually damp, to which I attribute the continuance of this attack. Mr. Ward has had a bilious attack. Mr. Bryant is now with me and so far I am highly pleased with him.

I thank you for the care you take of my nursery. As to the caterpillars, I can give you no directions as I suppose all their mischief is over. You should have . . . [torn] on its first appearance—in this as in all other circumstances of life recollect that evil will be destroyed in the bad, let it increase and it may not be stopped.

By this time the 2d growth of trees must have begun. Then you will know what trees will live—now, it is important they should be occasionally watered—the grapevines especially.

Do not forget to keep some seeds of the best vegetables. It is not too late to sow a little crop of peas. Now is about a good time for late radishes, but read the book. Your mama says that your health is better, this is the most agreeable news I could receive—take care of it. Be very prudent, do not presume on your strength, an accident might throw you back a good deal yet.

Tell your mother that except my rheumatism, I am rather gaining in another way.

Last but not least, I was highly gratified by your attention in sending me a pretty rose: but as the time for flowers is now past, I expect from you something else—cherries, raspberries, &c will be quite acceptable especially as I am deprived of such delicacies. You should share with me, were it but in a picture. These attentions will sweeten my coarse fare. I fear you cannot read my scribbling but I have not time to do better—the week keeps me so busy and unfortunately the mail going every Sunday morning, the very day which alone, I can write at leisure, is too late for writing. And now I am not only hurried by the visit but by an invitation to a party.

Last Saturday I celebrated the 4th in Charleston and spent the day very pleasantly—my only regret was that I was prevented by the festivity from writing.

Adieu, embrace everybody for me and believe me here as at home

Ever your affectionate father, C. C.

In writing do not forget to direct Charleston, Kanawha City, or else the letter might go to Jefferson County.

Almost immediately after Colonel Crozet returned from Louisiana his energies and abilities beyond the field of engineering were utilized. His unusual experience in the scientific, military, and educational fields made it peculiarly fitting that he should have been selected by Governor David Campbell of Virginia to be a member of the board of visitors appointed to organize an educational institution to be owned

by the State. These same qualifications caused Crozet to be elected by his colleagues to be the presiding officer of the board and so he continued throughout the formative years (1837-1845). This was the beginning of the now famed Virginia Military Institute, or V. M. I. (as Crozet called it in his report made ten days after its doors were opened and as it is now almost universally known).

Here again we find evidence of Crozet's genius in producing a thing of permanence in which his service was that of a pioneer. This farseeing faculty was later recognized by the Federal Government when, in 1860, a board was appointed "to Revise the Programme of Instruction at the Military Academy" at West Point. Crozet, then seventy-one years of age, thus returned to the aid of the great institution where his first labors in the land of adoption had been performed two score years before. This service he rendered as "Prof. C. Crozet" and among the thirty-eight people whose testimony was solicited, we find many who became famous in the war which swept the country in the following year—the first name on the list is that of Lt. Gen. Winfield Scott; the last, "G. B. McClellan, Esq."

In the autumn of 1857, when the editorial snipers were roasting the tunnel engineer, he was remembered by a former associate, who, as Governor of Virginia and President of the Board of Public Works, knew his worth. At the time John B. Floyd was Secretary of War and through him, Crozet, who had devoted so many years to developing waterways for transportation, now took up another branch of the civil engineering profession—the provision and transportation of potable water.

Following a brief period of service on the construction of the Washington Aqueduct, Crozet ended his professional career as an engineer soon after he was engaged to locate and construct the Virginia and Kentucky Railroad—a project which was interrupted by war. And war, which had started Crozet on his career, ended his active labors.

Colonel Crozet, who was by creed a Roman Catholic, passed on as he had lived—simply. His "last will" directed that "the funeral [be] performed without unnecessary display . . . of no service to the dead . . . a tax upon the living, frequently for the benefit of undeserving individuals, and had better be appropriated to the relief of some indigent persons, and I desire that the expenses thus saved may be applied to such a purpose." He died at the residence of his son-in-law, Dr. C. S. Mills, at Midlothian, Virginia, on January 29, 1864, and was buried in Shockoe Hill Cemetery, Richmond, Virginia. His grave, which is unmarked, is beside that of his daughter, son, and wife—who passed away before him in that order. His last direct descendant, a granddaughter, died unmarried in 1936.

The cemetery records, examined personally by the author, are clear and conclusive, but some doubt of the place of interment was temporarily expressed in 1939 when it was discovered that Dr. Charles Minnegerode, Rector of St. Paul's (Episcopal) Church in Richmond, recorded that he was present at Colonel Crozet's burial in Hollywood Cemetery, but this record appears to have been confused.

A memory now, Crozet sleeps serenely as the products of his brain live on through the years and grateful citizens are providing memorials in varying forms—some massive, such as Crozet Hall at V. M. I., some modest, such as markers on the public highways—to keep that memory fresh in the minds of an appreciative populace.

Some West Virginia Contacts with John James Audubon

By Betty Cook

In the spring of 1803 a young man, about eighteen years old, came to the home of the William Thomas family then residing at an estate known as Mill Grove, now Audubon, in southeastern Pennsylvania, about twenty-four miles from Philadelphia. A handsome lad, he carried letters of introduction to an agent for his father, Captain Jean Audubon, who was living in France, and also to the Thomas family who ran the estate for his father. The boy sometimes went by the name of Jean Jacques and at other times by the name of Jean Jacques LaForet Audubon. It is recorded that he had been born April 22, 1785, in Santo Domingo. Others alleged, and he himself believed, that he was born in Louisiana. His father had commanded merchant ships contacting all these regions and had seen much of the American Revolution. Years later, as an internationally known character, commenting on the near foundering of a boat on the Ohio River, Audubon remarked that "her name, like mine, is only a shadow." And to this day the truth of his birth is more or less enshrouded in mystery. Not so his life. Naturalist, artist, woodsman, and lover of nature all in one, his unflagging energy drove him from Pennsylvania to Texas, from Florida to Labrador, and along the rivers of the Ohio Basin to the Mississippi, in an unending search for birds.

The Mill Grove section of Pennsylvania, along Perkiomen Creek, was a beautiful section to a boy in love with nature. Near here had lived the Boones and the Lincolns, families which were to leave such a mark on the "happy

hunting" grounds of the great naturalist. Here Audubon made sketches of birds and flowers, much to the annoyance of Francis Dacosta, his father's agent. Eventually this led to a quarrel and a trip back to France. In the meantime, he met the girl destined to have much influence over his later life.

In France, Audubon turned his talent to good use with a series of sketches of two hundred French birds. This vexed Captain Audubon, however, and once again he sent his son back to America. On this occasion the passport carried the name of Audubon. With him came Ferdinand Rozier, with whom Audubon had become very friendly. Arrived in the United States, the two young men decided to mix business with pleasure. It was only natural that both should be intrigued with the French settlements which had been made at Gallipolis, Ohio, and Louisville, Kentucky, and they very soon set out to see these new places for themselves.

Ferdinand Rozier, in a journal, written in French, noted:

> On the thirty-first day of August 1807, in company with Audubon, I left Mill Grove for Louisville, Kentucky where we anticipated engaging in the mercantile business . . . At last, however, the city of Pittsburgh was reached and there we found good and commodious lodgings at the Jefferson Hotel conducted by Mr. Galland a most genial and agreeable host. We remained at Pittsburgh several days, and became acquainted with many of its citizens among whom were several countrymen of ours who were engaged in business and were very congenial and hospitable. The city does not present a pleasing appearance but it has increased in size with astounding rapidity and possesses a beautiful commerce; the Ohio river there is most beautiful.[1]

Pittsburgh was then a town of about eighteen hundred people, which had grown up on the site of Fort Duquesne and Fort Pitt. The two adventurers started down the stream in a flatboat, an open, cumbersome craft managed entirely by hand. Now and then sand bars gave them trouble and heavy rains annoyed them. Occasionally they landed on an island. Everywhere were birds, new birds to Audubon

[1]F. H. Herrick, *Audubon, the Naturalist* (New York, 1917), p. 187.

—cranes, the little green heron—but their presence did not seem to interest Harris, the operator of the boat, whom Rozier characterized as "ungentlemanly."

The men paused at Wheeling, where just twenty-five years before had taken place the last battle of the Revolution, in the attack on Fort Henry in September, 1782. At Grave Creek, on the Virginia side, they saw the Great Mound. Eventually Marietta, Ohio, was reached. Here they observed the ancient mound remains and old Fort Harmar. Twelve miles down the river they passed the mouth of the Little "Kenhawa," and Rozier noted the "Market Slough, famous for the conspiracy of Colonel Burr." This had reference to the series of channels which ran through a group of islands, now all one, known as Blennerhassett Island, some five miles long. On the upper island, Harman Blennerhassett had built, in 1798, the mansion so famous in the western annals as one scene from the episode known as the Burr Conspiracy. Audubon, in his broken French and English, probably made many inquiries about the place. And what a place for birds, even to this day!

The journey continued. Mention was made of Belleville, Wood County, the site of old Fort Belleville which had an interesting history running back to the days of the Indian Wars and early New England enterprise. "Litards Falls" was Rozier's version of Letarts Rapids, so long the terror of early steamboaters. Point Pleasant lived up to its name. Here the travelers saw the site of the Battle of Point Pleasant, fought October 10, 1774. At last Louisville was reached. This settlement, Audubon later recorded, "was a place marked by nature to become a great place"—a place where one could have made money in real estate, but "young heads are on young shoulders, it was not to be and who cares." The young merchants looked over the business possibilities as far south as Nashville. Audubon took a glance at the bird kingdom but thoughts of Lucy Bakewell in Pennsylvania were uppermost in his mind. The goods carried inland were

sold for a reasonable profit, and by June, 1808, the partners were back in Philadelphia.

The road then led the young ornithologist and merchant back to the banks of the Perkiomen where, to the amusement and amazement of Lucy Bakewell, he tied silver threads on the "phoebe," so familiar to West Virginians, and began to paint pictures of birds as well as of Lucy. On June 12, 1808, they were married—she was twenty; he was twenty-three. Two days later the bride and groom alighted from an old stagecoach in the hurry and bustle of little Pittsburgh. Once more the "bird man" had spread his wings and was on the way west. The next day they boarded an ark or Kentucky boat. The horn blew and a song went up—"Hi-O, away we go, Floating down the River, on the Ohio."

Float they did. The weather was fine, the river flowed peacefully along through forest-bordered banks, and a tangled mass of driftwood and wild grapes. At nights the boats were tied up; men, women, and cattle, all landed; other flatboat companies did the same, all bound down "the river." The strange craft had a room in the center, and the boatmen danced on the roof. Audubon played a flute, and all in all a peaceful journey was made down a stream that only so recently had resounded to the redman's war cry. Marietta, Belleville, Point Pleasant, and Gallipolis came and went, and days later they pulled into a small stream called Bear-grass Creek, just north of the Falls of the Ohio, at Louisville.

In the Louisville country, Audubon became a combination merchant and naturalist. Some time about 1810 he traveled up to Frankfort to meet the great Daniel Boone, and both left accounts of this meeting. Another neighbor was General George Rogers Clark, the defender of the back door of the frontier during the Revolution and under whom so many West Virginians served. One day came a caller who was none other than Alexander Wilson, also a great ornithologist.

In the meantime, the mercantile pursuits and the desires of his partner, Rozier, lead to a removal to the little town of Henderson, about a hundred miles below Louisville. A son, Victor, was born at "The Indian Queen" in 1809. Lucy, with her little son, soon paid a visit to her people in Pennsylvania. Audubon joined his family, and later wrote of the return down the Ohio River in the fall of 1810.

> As night came, sinking into darkness the broader portions of the river our minds became affected by strong emotions, and wandered far beyond the present moments. The tinkling of bells told us that cattle which bore them were gently roving from valley to valley in search of food, or returning to their distant homes. The hooting of the Great Owl, or the muffled noise of its wings as it sailed smoothly over the stream were matters of interest to us; so was the sound of the boatman's horns as it came winding more and more softly from afar. When daylight returned many songsters burst forth with echoing notes, more and more mellow to the listening ear. Here and there the lonely cabin of a squatter struck the eye, giving note of commencing civilization. The crossing of the stream by a deer foretold how soon the hills would be covered with snow.
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> Many sluggish flatboats we overtook and passed, some laden with produce from the different headwaters of small rivers that pour their tributary streams into the Ohio; others of less dimensions, crowded with emigrants from distant parts, in search of a new home.
>
> The margins of the shores of the river were at this season amply supplied with game. A wild turkey, a grouse, or a Blue Winged Teal, could be procured in a few moments, and we fared well for whenever we pleased we landed, struck up a fire and provided, as were with necessary utensils, procured a good repast.[2]

We soon find the young business men investigating the country along the lower Missouri River and along the upper Mississippi. In the early autumn of 1811, according to the statement written by Audubon in later years, he laid aside the study of birds and turned to his business affairs. In this connection he set out on horseback through the old road into Kentucky by way of Cumberland Gap, where he heard that "the first man in Cumberland Gap, was Doctor Walker an English chap," whose fame as an explorer in the regions of the Greenbrier and New rivers in West Virginia still lives. He also heard that "Daniel Boone on Pin-

[2]*Ibid.*, p. 195.

nacle Rock, killed Indians with an old flint-rock." The route then led through southern West Virginia, in the section not far from the present Bluefield, on by Natural Bridge, and across Jefferson County to Harpers Ferry. The scene here no doubt stirred his artistic soul as it had that of Thomas Jefferson a few years before. Leaving this region, he is soon found at Philadelphia and appears to have returned to Louisville by December. On his return journey it is recorded that he rode horseback by Wheeling, Chillicothe, Ohio, and Maysville, Kentucky.

Vincent Nolte, the merchant traveler, affirms that he met Audubon late in 1811, and that the two struck up a friendship. On arriving at Pittsburgh, Nolte bought two flatboats, and the two men set out in January, 1812, with the Ohio River full of floating ice. They had their horses on board and made several stops along the river. At such times Audubon amused his host as well as guests by making drawings of people and displaying some of his marvelous bird sketches. Arriving at Limestone, now Maysville, Kentucky, the two men rode across country to Lexington and from that place to Frankfort and then on into Louisville.

The journey down the Ohio was repeated later in the same year. On August 10, 1812, Audubon wrote from Shippingport (Louisville), "I left Philadelphia last month (July) with my wife and son, most of this time was spent descending the Ohio which at present is very low and had the barge and crew of General Clark with the company of R. A. Maupin and Mrs. Gault." About this time, he and his family and all the early settlers passed through the strange series of earthquakes which wrought great changes in the region around the section where the Ohio joins the Mississippi. Before the year 1812 was over, another son, John Woodhouse, was born. He, too, was to become interested in birds.

Time passed—days devoted to trips, bird study, and business. Hard times also came "knocking at the door" down in Kentucky. The year 1819 found him preparing speci-

mens for a museum in Cincinnati. In the month of September, 1820, he received word that Daniel Boone was dead. Audubon had lost a friend who knew Indians and the woods, but who never quite understood one who just loved birds. He painted a portrait of Boone, perhaps from memory, and while it has grave faults, it is perhaps one of the best that has come down to us. Audubon left Cincinnati for New Orleans, on October 12, 1820. The fall of 1822 found the Ohio at a very low stage, and after walks overland and a hand-to-mouth existence during the winter, Audubon reached Philadelphia the next spring. He turned to portrait painting to make money with which to continue his study of birds. One Charles Bonaparte stood by him, urged him to go to New York, to Europe, any place, to get his work in print.

In August, 1824, he visited New York City, Niagara Falls, Albany, New York, and other points. Finally, in a skiff, he came down the Allegheny River and arrived at Pittsburgh on September 7. Here he spent several weeks, made a wonderful painting of the passenger pigeon, and continued to urge people to help him get his sketches published. He found that General Lafayette was coming to the town on his way down the Ohio, and at once he set out to see the hero of the American Revolution, who had known his father, Captain Audubon. He made a rather poor portrait of Lafayette and eventually, in dire need of funds, he had some lithographs made which he thought might sell.

On October 24, Audubon bought a skiff and with three other men whom he described as an artist, a doctor, and an Irishman, he started down the river. The weather was cold, raw, and rainy, and at night the group pulled the boat on shore for protection. A few days later they reached the landing at the town of Wheeling. Audubon, now turned salesman, started to sell his lithographs of Lafayette which portrayed an old man. Unfortunately, no one recognized the genius of Audubon. He canvassed the Sprigg House

and walked the streets of the West Virginia city in a vain effort to sell his lithographs. The people had just seen Lafayette and were not much interested in his portraits.

How a citizen of Wheeling would now treasure one of these items, then fresh from the hand of the master artist-naturalist! Audubon's companions became disgusted with him and "left the ship." At length, he secured passage on a keel boat, and reached Cincinnati where a friend advanced him fifteen dollars with which to get to Louisville and his family. Here he arrived on November 20. Shortly afterward he made his famous paintings of the wild turkey so well known to West Virginians. By the spring of 1826 he had about four hundred paintings and a little money. The urge came to go abroad and see what could be done there. On Friday, July 21, he arrived in England.

The story of Audubon and his career abroad is one of continuous rebuffs and victories. He had traveled over thirty thousand miles, written a million words of text, and had drawn and colored to the most minute detail over a thousand birds. He carried with him a letter from Louis P. Cairo, of New Orleans, to none other than General Lafayette. His friend, Nolte, also gave him letters to influential people. Audubon called upon the minister to Great Britain, Albert Gallatin, a resident of the Monongahela Valley not far from Morgantown, and co-owner with Savery DeValcoulon, a Frenchman from Lyons, of thousands of acres of land along the Ohio and Great Kanawha. Gallatin, when urged to arrange for an interview with the King of England, was gracious in the extreme, but insisted that the head of the British Government was not interested in such matters.

Audubon then went to France and saw Lafayette, who was now far removed from the simple streets of the town where the naturalist had first seen him. At the Palais Royal he interviewed the Duke of Orleans, Louis Philippe, later King of France. The Duke praised the sketch of the Baltimore oriole and recounted that he had visited the United

States and all of Audubon's lands, where he had been most kindly "received and should never forget it." The story is told that Louis Philippe, as a youth, had hunted the beautiful passenger pigeons—the same bird that had so inspired Audubon—along the Kanawha.

Back in England, Audubon wrote letters to his son John Woodhouse urging him to collect birds, preserve bird skins, and secure shells of the mussel, then so numerous along inland waters. In the meantime, he had won the friendship and help of the great engraver, W. Home Lizars. On November 26, 1826, the first plate, the famous "Wild Turkey," size twenty-nine and one-half inches by thirty-nine and one-half inches, retouched by another famous engraver said to be R. Havell, Junior, was sent to Audubon. Men like William Swainson, who later urged him to send to England a "cartload of shells from the Ohio," and others took some interest.

Audubon, now a celebrity, sailed from England on the ship *Columbia* and reached New York May 1, 1829. In the middle of October, he took the coach to Pittsburgh where he met Thomas Pears, some time business partner at the old estate near Philadelphia. Audubon now recorded that he "descended once more his favorite river, the Ohio," and commented that the fare was originally twelve dollars from Pittsburgh to Louisville, and that "our steamboats are commodious and go well"—ample indication that travel had improved along the river since 1807.

On New Year's Day, 1830, with his wife, he journeyed down the river and spent a few days in New Orleans. A week later, after paying sixty dollars for the fare, they embarked on the new steamer, *Philadelphia,* for Louisville. By March 7, they had traveled up to Cincinnati. Here they took another boat, and proceeded to Wheeling, on whose streets Audubon now walked with much more comfort than on some previous trips. From Wheeling they took the stage over the National Road to Washington. Arrived at the capital, the great naturalist was entertained by President

Andrew Jackson, and Edward Everett had him display his sketches and plates before the House of Representatives. On April 1, with Lucy, he again set out for England.

By 1836 he began to see that the completion of his "Birds" was in sight; three volumes had then been published which contained more than three hundred plates. At last, in June, 1838, twelve years after he had set out from the Ohio regions for England, the last print of the great *Birds of America* was engraved and colored. About the same time he completed the five volumes of his *Ornithological Biography*. On its appearance, the magnificent portfolio, *Birds of America,* sold by subscription for one thousand dollars a set. It was then, and still is, considered one of the most amazing projects that the scientific and publishing world has ever known. Out of one hundred and sixty-five sets, eighty-two were sold in the United States. Of the famous copper plates showing the master touch of Lizars and Havell, only forty-one are known to be in existence, and these are cherished by institutions. An original portfolio in the American Museum of Natural History is so large and heavy that one can scarcely lift it. Meanwhile, he had occupied the intervening years in doing further work along the eastern seaboard and he bought bird skins as far west as the mouth of the Columbia River.

By 1839, Audubon had established his home in New York City and had made plans to bring out a miniature edition of his *Birds*. At the age of fifty-eight he entered upon another ambitious project, one which would cover the quadrupeds of North America. On March 11, 1843, he left Philadelphia and went over to Baltimore. Here he utilized the new means of travel, the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and went by the new route westward as far as Cumberland, Maryland. From Cumberland, he took the stage over the National Road to Wheeling, where he arrived before the break of day on March 16. At this point, he wrote the following letter, which, it is believed, has never been published.[3]

[3]Letter in private collection of Dr. Roy Bird Cook, Charleston, West Virginia.

Wheeling, Vira., March 16th 1843

My dearest Friends:

We arrived here all well this morning, at 4 o'clock, having been disappointed in several instances by the owners of Coaches &c., &c., but here we are; and you will marvel to hear, that it is now snowing smartly, and not likely to stop this day, on the Mountains we had more than one foot of snow and this is as fortunate for us as rendering the road better.

We expect to leave for Louisville this evening at 10, providing the storm abates any the weather permits. We paid 30$ extra for our baggage, making our separate fares 15$ from Phila. to this.

My young folks are full of spirits. Mr. Fellows of Louisville is one of our Companions and a Mr. Hall from Louisiana. Let Bell's Brother know of our arrival at this place and also Mr. Morris.

I pray God that you will all keep well and take care of each other. If I will have time I will find you the name of the steamer we go with. God bess you all my very dearest friends.

Yours for Life.
Sincerely and affectionately
John J. Audubon

The identity, as yet, of "my dearest Friends" is unknown but, presumably, the salutation refers to those left behind in Philadelphia. Audubon took the steamer down the river, stopped at Marietta, Parkersburg, Point Pleasant, and Guyandotte, and reached Louisville on March 19. His mind went back to his many trips along the "beautiful Ohio," and the following comments show clearly his own appreciation of this stream.

The Ohio:

When I think of these times and call back to my mind the grandeur and beauty of these almost uninhabited shores; when I picture to myself the dense and lofty summits of the forests, that everywhere spread along the hills and overhung the margins of the stream, unmolested by the axe of the settlers; when I know how dearly purchased the safe navigation of that river had been by the blood of many worthy Virginians; when I see that no longer any aborigines are to be found there, and that the vast herds of Elk, Deer and Buffalo which once pastured on these hills, and in these valleys, making for themselves great roads to the several salt-springs, have ceased to exist when I reflect that all this grand portion of this Union, instead of being in the state of nature, is now more or less covered with villages, farms and towns where the din of hammers and machinery is constantly heard; that the woods are fast disappearing under the axe day by day, and the fire by night; that hundreds of steamboats are gliding to and fro, over the whole length of the majestic river, forcing commerce to take root and prosper at

every spot; when I see the surplus population of Europe coming to assist in the destruction of the forest and transplanting civilization into its darkest recesses; when I remember that these extraordinary changes have all taken place in the short period of twenty years, I pause, wonder and although I know all to be the fact, can scarcely believe its reality.[4]

The 1843 journey took eight months, during which time Audubon and his party went as far as the mouth of the Yellowstone River and around the headwaters of the Missouri. On the return trip the party reached St. Louis by October 19, and from this point passed up the Ohio. This was the last time Audubon was to look upon the western border of the present West Virginia. At Pittsburgh, the road led over the canal route to Philadelphia. He arrived home by November 6. Once again he took up his work at the little estate called "Minniesland" on the Hudson, in what is now a part of New York City, and which he had bought when the success of his "miniature" edition of the "Birds" seemed assured. Then came years of more work. Samuel Morse came to his home to work on the telegraph and it is said the first message from Philadelphia came over a wire stretched across the Hudson from this estate. Here he died, January 27, 1851, and was laid to rest in Trinity Churchyard, where he sleeps today amid the hurry and bustle of a great city, far removed from the quiet waters along the fringe of West Virginia. Thus ended the career of a man who, some one has said, "failed in everything the world told him to do, then turned tables and achieved a triumph such as few men ever realized."[5]

It is rather difficult to appraise the importance of Audubon's connection with West Virginia. It is not difficult, however, to realize the great influence of his work, its interest and its value to our people. Audubon first viewed the section of our State along the Ohio in 1807 and last saw it in 1843. During this time great changes had taken place in the settlement of the great valley draining the Mississippi. The results of his labors were first given to the world in 1826 and continued up to the time of his death. First,

[4]Edward A. Muschamp, *Audacious Audubon* (New York, 1929), p. 293.
[5]*Ibid.*, p. 293.

his tremendous folio, *Birds of America,* heretofore mentioned—a single page of which has sold for as much as five hundred dollars. Then, in the United States, his smaller or miniature edition, made up of much the same material, of which some twelve hundred sets were sold. His "Quadrupeds" caused wide acclaim in all quarters. Other editions of his works appeared in 1861 and 1870, long after his death. In 1870, or near, the grandparents of the writer saw the last great flight of the passenger pigeon in this State. The plates of this bird are among the best of Audubon's work.

In 1937, the original works of Audubon, with some additions, were reprinted in this country, and this edition will some day be treasured by the owners. About the same time, some of the very birds used by Audubon in his work were found in Moorestown, New Jersey, and removed to the Academy of Natural Sciences at Philadelphia. Great national magazines have reproduced many of the fine plates, some of which depict birds of great interest to West Virginians. In the meantime, great societies have grown up to carry on the name and the work of the famous naturalist.

The Memorandum of William Whitteker—Part II

Edited By Elizabeth Cometti

The second part of William Whitteker's "Memorandum" begins in 1803. For over a year, now, Whitteker had been engaged in various trading ventures on the lakes and rivers east of the Mississippi.[1] In 1806 he abandoned the roving life and henceforward made his home at Charleston, now West Virginia. This town, if such it deserved to be called at that time, was situated six miles below the famous Kanawha Salt Licks which had been utilized by both Indians and whites since historic times.[2] The Ruffner Brothers, however, were the first to attempt the large scale exploitation of the licks when they began their notable experiment in sinking a well which should penetrate to the very source of the salt water. Earlier wells, such as those erected by Elisha Brooks on the Ruffner lands or those found at the Scioto salt works in Ohio, went no deeper, at best, than the superincumbent earth. A supply of salt water was obtained by allowing it to rise into the excavations from the crevices in the rock below.[3] In February, 1808, the Ruffners succeeded in drilling through the rock formation to a point where there was a flow of strong brine. This event marked a new era in the manufacture of salt and almost immediately caused the market price of the commodity to fall from five dollars to two dollars per bushel.[4]

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[1]Preface to "Memorandum."

[2]See J. P. Hale, "Salt and Petroleum" in *Resources of West Virginia* by M. F. Maury and W. M. Fontaine (Wheeling, 1876), pp. 274-309. This paper gives the most comprehensive account of the early salt industry, especially the drilling of the Ruffners' first well. In connection with the "Salt Indians" see Hu Maxwell, "The Use and Abuse of Forests by the Virginia Indians," *William and Mary College Quarterly*, XIX (Oct. 1910), pp. 82-85.

[3]S. P. Hildreth, "Observations on the Saliferous Rock Formation in the Valley of the Ohio," *The American Journal of Science and Arts*, XXIV (July, 1833), pp. 48-49.

[4]*West Virginia Historical Magazine*, I (Oct. 1901), p. 51.

After the initial success of drilling into the rock, enterprising men at the Kanawha Salines sank wells to the depth of several hundred feet. Deep below the surface of the ground, at the source of the fountain, the salt water sometimes proved to be of such strength that 75 gallons would make a bushel of salt, whereas at the old Scioto salt works it required from 600 to 800 gallons of water for a like quantity of salt.[5] With characteristic enthusiasm, William Whitteker also began to experiment with the drilling of salt wells. At this point his "Memorandum" provides much valuable information on those early "boom years" at the Kanawha Salines.

1803 101084 [miles]

. . . and inch plank enough for the Bottom nail — ice there across the Bottom—In two days my Boat was made—20 feet long 5½ ft wide and riged with oars loaded and we started on Le Beaf Lake which is one mile diameter and got into the outlet about three rods wide shallow with sand bars the water being very low we had to wade and drag the little Boat miles over these bars — at this time a big old Genowe sailor was with us to help me along — both of these men were glad to work their passage to get along for they had no money they were first rate especially the old sailor We got into French Creek and running a Rocky ugly shoal above Meadville bump her on a stone and [?] pulled the Boat ashore unloaded — I went down to Meadville 2 miles Bought me a large pine perogue fifty feet long 2½ feet wide — Brought her up loaded in my goods went safely next past the town of Franklin at the mouth of French Creek and proceeded down the Allegheny this in October snowed for 3 days a rough River to run arived at Pittsburg distance 206

101,290

We have been 12 days from Le Boof here all way camped by our Boat over night — the weather fair or foul with a good fine fire

We now left Pittsburg for Gallipolis and made no stops but to get some provisions arived at Gallipolis — from Pittsburg 300 — from here I wagoned my goods to Chillicothe and oppened my little Store in November from Gallipolis to this is — Miles 62 here commenced the Bear skin trade with me — in the course of the winter I must have rode to the hunters camps and cabbins — they had no other houses in these times — rode in all 1000

[5]S. P. Hildreth, *loc. cit.* The water from the Ruffners' first well produced a bushel of salt for every 200 gallons. "Lewis Summer's Journal of a Tour from Alexandria, Virginia, to Gallipolis, Ohio, in 1808," *Southern Historical Magazine*, I (Feb., 1892), p. 61. Although deeper wells generally produced stronger brine, it was found that the salt bearing strata was passed beyond a depth of 800 to 1000 feet. J. P. Hale, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

1804 In the spring I rode into Kentucky on Licking River and high up on the Kentucky river in 5 weeks I must have rode 700

1st of May bought a small flat boat in company with a John Dix of Boston we concluded to return to Boston by way of New Orleans loaded in all our Bear and Dear skins and furs and began descending the Ohio at Gallipolis — landed at Maysville and took in some Bear and Dear skins I had deposited there — went on again and stoped a few hours at Cincinnati went to the falls here got a pilot run safe over the falls — here I found my old Genowe sailor again who went with me to Orleans — So we proceeded on our journey without accident untill we came near the mouth of the Arkansaw River we saw a storm coming up very fast we were lashed to a flour Boat that we might drift better — especially with head wind we unlashed as quick as posible and began to pull for the mouth of the Arkansaw but the storm before we had got within half a mile of the shore caught us — the waves run higher than our boat and they roled so that no man could stand to row or stear on top of the Boat The flour Boat filled and drifted down 2 miles lodged under a snag — our little boat being and old family Boat the oars were all below We made out to pull our Boat to shore alltho we expected we would be lost for it blew a hurricane for half an hour We made out to land one mile below the mouth of the Arkansaw here we lay two days ajusting the flour boat to save her Load — the 3rd day we all started together again saved nearly all her flour and Boat — So we drifted on again untill we got to Natchez where we left her and went on our journey alone arived in Orleans 11 of June from Gallipolis here 1900
22 of June shipped on board of a Schooner for Boston where we arived safe after a pasage of 42 days distance run on this long pasage cant be less then 2500

September 7th Luther Willard and myself started from Boston for Chillicothe in Ohio on horse back by the way of Albany — Buffalo — Presque Isle — Pittsburg — Zanesville and Lancaster to Chillicothe arived 1st of October distance miles 1000
from here we rode to Gallipolis miles 62
then up the river and crossed over to Point Pleasant we rode up the big Kanawha to Charleston in search of Bear skins[6] for that was our business this trip a distance in miles 66
Returned again to the point Gallipolis and to Chillicothe 128
Here traveled through all this country we spent the fall winter and spring in search of Bear and Deer skins at every Hunters camp and cabbin that we could find we must have traveled in this time 2000
May 15th Having collected all our skins to Gallipolis we started for Boston in a keel boat for Pittsburg arived safe miles 300

[6] "I have known hunters to kill bears by the hundred in the Fall of the year, thus securing a sufficient supply of bear-meat to last them until the next Fall." Recollections of Colonel Joel Ruffner in George W. Atkinson, *History of Kanawha County* (Charleston, 1876), pp. 191-92.

Shipped our skins in waggon again for Philadelphia — walked with the waggons John Noyes[7] also walk with us some times we would get some miles ahead and stop at the waggon Tavern and pitch a game at coits smoke a few cegars and take something good to drink which was quite fashionable in them days thus we amused ourselves along the road to Phila miles 300

Here again shipped our skins in a Brig for Boston arived safe miles 800

and here at my boarding house saw for first time (although myself 31 years old) the only woman in all this world God had given me for a wife and she a poor widow with two children — the contract was made and consumated one year after[8]

Luther Willard and myself started with a stock of goods for Gallipolis — shipped on board of a brig to Baltimore brother Levi Whitteker[9] was along for the first time arived safe in January have in all my journey distance miles 900

then in wagons to Wheeling and walked ourselves with the wagons — untill within a few days when we went ahead to prepare

[at least one page missing at this point]

112928

. . . in the morning started again got this day up to Arbuckles[10] wife and I went up to the hous Mrs. Arbuckle said after the usual introduction Wellcome to Mason Madam — here we were comfortable with good supper lodging and breakfast in the morning They put us across Kanawha above sixteen mile Creek wife and I walked up opposite Morris Reynolds[11] at the mouth of Eighteen mile creek here we staid untill the next day when Reynold took horses and conveyed us to Benjn Johnst [on][12] 4 miles — here we staid four days kept our Christmas with all the old aires — Here Brother Levi meet us with horses 27 Dec. started and put up at Morris Hudsons[13] — old Mrs. Hudson was so good and so kind to my wife that she thought she had got to where sombody lived again — 28 started again this mornning and arived at Charleston at noon distance all this journey by sea and land 16,000

whole distance in 11 years traveled on seas and Rivers and lakes and by land 114,528

Wm Whitteker

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[7]This was Isaac Noyes, not John. He came to the Kanawha Valley in 1804. *Ibid.*, pp. 255-58, 271. W. S. Laidley, *History of Charleston and Kanawha County West Virginia* (Chicago, 1911), p. 272.

[8]Mrs. Philena Cobb whom Whitteker married in 1806. Atkinson, *History*, p. 278.

[9]See *ibid.*, p. 271.

[10]Captain William Arbuckle, 1752-1836, one of the earliest settlers of Mason County. "West Virginians in the American Revolution" ed. by Ross B. Johnston, *West Virginia History*, I (Oct., 1939), p. 61; "History of Mason County" in *Hardesty's Encyclopedia* (Chicago, 1883), pp. 8-9.

[11]Maurice Reynolds. He was a member of the first Mason County Court held in 1804. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

[12]Undoubtedly this is the same Johnston mentioned in "Lewis Summer's Journal," pp. 65-67.

[13]The Hudsons were originally from Pennsylvania. They were probably the first Episcopalians in the Kanawha Valley. In 1825, Morris Hudson built a small church for the Coalsmouth congregation chiefly at his own expense. Bishop Meade, *Old Churches Ministers and Families of Virginia*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1891), II, 346-47. See also George W. Peterkin, *A History and Record of the Protestant Episcopal Church* (Charleston, 1902), pp. 626-27.

1806 December 28th — Myself and my wife at Daniel Ruffners[14] here we staid for two weeks in which time I bought the old Log house and lot and went to house keeping there we lived near forty years until my wife died June 21st 1846.

[Several pages are missing at this point.]

1809

. . . in the first place chiseled a hole in the Rock — then made a tube by hollowing two pieces of wood then claped them together and wraped with bed cord and then drove one end of it into the Rock[15] and then filled the gum[16] with the stifest kind of Clay Morter say two feet and a half near to the top of the tube and pounded as Morter could be — But this would not do — and then drove this Morter full of piles 2 or 3 inches diameter 2½ feet long sharpened at one End — so that the gum looked as though it was headed with piles all of this would not keep out the fresh water — I believe we bored the well in this situation 30 or 40 feet and got pretty good salt water

About this time old Mr. Robt- Johnston of Kentucky made some contract of Rent with David and Joseph Ruffner[17] who brought with him a well auger with screw joints and poles with which he Rimmed and bored this well down to fifty feet.—

At this time Tobias Ruffner[18] was preparing to sink another gum 50 yards below on the same bank of the River and he prepared his gum by a fellow [?] in his gum 8 inches from the bottom pining it to the gum with Inch pins for the head of the gum to rest on which head was made of two pieces 4 or 5 inches thick made to fit the gum — with nine Inch round hole in each half head one for the tubes & the other for pump to keep the water down while putting down the tubes and wedging round them to keep out all fresh water also all round between the head and the gum — this is the only way ever been used for heading gums and this was the invention of and by Tobias Ruffner

in April I saw Joseph Ruffner take out his clay and pile head out of his gum and put in a head on Tobias Ruffners plan

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[14]Daniel Ruffner, 1779-1865, was the son of the elder Joseph Ruffner (d. March 1803) and the brother of David, Joseph, and Tobias Ruffner mentioned in Whitteker's "Memorandum." See Laidley, *History*, p. 75 and *West Virginia Historical Magazine*, (July, 1901), p. 40.

[15]This tube was used "to get the stronger brine from the bottom of the well, undiluted by the weaker brines and fresh water from above." J. P. Hale, *op. cit.*, p. 283.

[16]Dr. Hale thus described a gum: "In order to reach, if possible, the bottom of the mire and oozy quicksand through which the salt water flowed, they provided a straight, well-formed, hollow sycamore tree, with 4 feet internal diameter sawed off square at each end. This is technically called a 'gum.' This gum was set upright on the spot selected for sinking, the large end down, and held in its perpendicular position by props or braces, on the four sides." *Ibid.*, p. 281.

[17]David Ruffner, 1767-1873, was the father of Dr. Henry Ruffner. See Dr. W. H. Ruffner, "The Ruffners — No. III, David," *The West Virginia Historical Magazine*, I (Oct., 1901), pp. 46-51 and *ibid.*, II (Jan., 1902), pp. 45-53. Joseph, 1769-1837, sold his interest in the salt works in 1813. *Ibid.*, (Oct., 1901), p. 52.

[18]Tobias Ruffner, 1773-1836, was known throughout the Kanawha Valley for his mechanical ingenuity. In 1818 Tobias was granted a patent for sinking wells. The previous year David and Joseph Ruffner had secured a patent on their mode of obtaining salt water. W. G. Williams (Plebius), "Leaves from an Autobiography," *The Ladies Repository*, XII (May, 1852), pp. 222-23; Atkinson, *History*, p. 192; A. J. Morrison, "Virginia Patents," *William and Mary College Quarterly*, II, 2nd series (July, 1922), p. 152.

At this time I was persuaded by Charles Brown[19] and some of his friends to undertake to sink a gum and bore for salt water on his Land opposite to Ruffners wells an to induce me to undertake they told me many storys some said that they had seen salt water boiling up thro the crivices in the rock all the way across the River — and that they had dived down and caught the salt water in their hands and tasted it — finally I concluded with myself that if the water was got by boring in the Rock it was likely to be on both sides of the River —

I then made a contract with him Charles Brown for ten years at equal shares in the profits and loss — I then began to prepare to sink for salt water in place of sinking a gum I thought I could sink a square frame down to the Rock — every thing was so new to us at this time we hardly tell what was best — my first experiment was to make a frame 4½ feet square at the bottom and 4 feet at the top and 20 feet long boarded up and down with strong seasoned plank this done we dug a hole for it as deep as we could for water raised it up and put in the hole over which 6 or 8 feet laid a pole resting on two forks in the middle of this pole was fastened a block with a shieve for a rope to pass to hoist the water — from the curb with a whiskey Barrel with the upper head out and a square hole in the lower head and with a valve like a pump over the hole to fit tight it would fill as quick as could be sunk by a pole in the inside of the barrel and with cord nailed to the upper side of the clepper so that when the Barrel was up raise the valve with this cord the Barrel Empty as quick as it filled — to raise this Barrel

I had a perpendicular shaft with a reel framed Round it six feet in diameter to which a rope was fixed that wound round this reel that went through the block and shieve over the curb and down to the barrel and made fast & below the reel a lever went through shaft worked by two hands — a Little more than once Round would raise a Barrel of water — thus we could Raise a barrel of water every two minutes —

After this experiment we found we could not sink the curb had to abandon it and get a gum at last — Cut our curb of as Low down as we could raised the gum inside of it bored and made me a pump that I could do myself haveing learnt much about pumps on board of ship — got my pump in the gum the frame on the top to make wait to force the gum down as we cleared the sand and gravel from the bottom on the inside—we had 14 hand to the pump for 10 days we used to chuse sides every morning for who should work together -- one side was called the Light horse and the other the Militia — neither side could stand it to pump over 15 minutes before they called for relief — so we pased 10 days myself made one hand in the gum all this time — we got the gum well down on the Rock put in the head and tubes on Tobias Ruffners plan

[19]Charles Brown, 1770-1849, was the owner of considerable property in the Kanawha Valley. He was a party to the agreement drawn up in 1817 for the control of salt production. Laidley, *History*, p. 276.

made the Gum completely tight and commenced Boring — Tobias had got his gum down before me and had borrowed the auger before me — I could not wait untill he had done — I got two or three bars of small iron got Tobias to make an auger bit and weld it on the bar of iron and make a swivel for the upper end for the rope which was attached to a spring pole with two hands to swing the pole for every stroke of the auger — and myself sitting down in the gum on the head to turn the auger which was very dry no water comming in to interfere — thus was my first gum bored we began to bore with two inch hole — for the want of experience in boring we made sharp thin bits to bore with — and always sharpened our bit to the size we left of at — had to take the whole auger across the river to Tobiases black-smiths shop — then cut the bit from the iron pole or bar sharpen the bit then weld it on again — all this Tobias Ruffner used to do for me — then take the auger across the River again in a coneau this is the way I bored for four days as my auger got too short made it longer by adding another bar of iron we had to sharpen our auger three times a day[20] in this way we bored 40 feet in four days — one day we bored 14 feet through stone coal slate and soap stone — by this time Tobias had got salt water at 44 feet and stopped boring — I then borrowed Johnstons auger with screw joints to bore the ballance of my well — on the 7th day still sitting down on the bottom of the gum myself to turn the auger at 57 feet struck a soft place like clay or rotten slate —[21] here I thought for a few minutes it was all over with us that we had got through the rock and no water yet for we had struck no water of any kind in boring all this distance — but to our surprise and great joy the salt water began to boil up six inches above the head of the tube — good strong salt water — I soon had to quit my humble station at the bottom of the gum for the top when and where all hands gave three cheers for the first salt water on the South West bank of the Kanawha River opposite to Tinkersville[22] this place took its name from Tobias Ruffner smiths shop for he was ingenous and used to tinker and make a good many small things for pumps and tubes etc. In the course of an hour the Neighbors were generally collected at the well and cheered us again — sent of and got something to drink — Silas Reynolds got pretty high tore my coat into small pieces and strewed them on the trees round the gum — the Reason I have been so particular in giving this account is because it was all experiment from the beginning to the end the first trial with me and put requisition all the ingenuity I had to get along in this business — In boring to clear the hole of the borings we used to let a boat socket down with a cord and then wait untill the boring settled into it then

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[20]Tobias Ruffner had encountered the same difficulties while boring his first well: "He (Tobias) went steadily on boring the rock; and when at length his augers became too small by attrition on the sides of the bore, he made larger ones, and commenced again." W. G. Williams, *loc. cit.*

[21]The Ruffners struck a "soft place" at a depth of only seventeen feet. *West Virginia Historical Magazine* (Oct., 1901), p. 51.

[22]Now called Reed, formerly known as Dana. Tinkersville was the oldest town in Malden District, Kanawha County. "History of Kanawha County," *Hardesty's Encyclopedia,* p. 310.

could only haul up a gill or half pint at a time Thus ended my first experiment in sinking the first gum and boring and obtaining the first salt on the south West bank of the Kanawha River in June 1809 by me

Wm Whitteker

I now proceeded to prepare for making salt — to get salt kettles sent a man all the way to Brownsville Pa and while he was gone — I prepared my furnace for them[23] — made my own pump and boxes myself and hired to do all other necessary work — which was all completed the first of September and began to make salt with a furnace of 50 kettles —[24] and found we could make 50 or 60 bushels in 24 hours salt then two dollars a bushel —[25]

About this time I made a contract with Isaac Noyes for 8 [?] years to sink a gum and to bore for salt water on his farm and to erect a furnace at my own expense — and then to be at equal shares in the proceeds or profits — I hired the gum sunk in the spring of 1810 — in May began to bore the well but was a good deal troubled to get the Boring out of the hole and this sinking down a boat socket was too tegious — Levi Whitteker and Isaac Noyes and myself were boring the well — I told them this slow way of getting out the boring and sand would never do — that I thought I could contrive some better way — I went down home to Charleston — I took 5 sheets of tin and with common hand shears cut them in too in the Middle — and with a two inch auger I bored a hole in one of the Logs in my old log house — into which I put a round piece of wood to form and hammer my tin on for a tube like now these tins had to be sodered I and no body here had a sodering iron — well I went [to] the black-smiths shop I made I formed a piece of iron about the size of a hens egg with an iron shank on handle at one end — the other end I split so as to receive the double of a copper cent I hammered the cent nearly square then cut the cent in the Middle drove it into this iron filed it smothe het and tined it over with this sodered my tube for the sand pump as I called it — for the lower end I put in a small Box with a valve like a pump — near the uper end I cut a square hole one inch wide and one a half inch long to empty out the borings in this upper end I put a piece of wood of the size of a tube 2 feet long and nailed in tight the uper end of this wood

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[23]The earliest furnaces were very simple. They consisted of a double row of kettles with a furnace at one end and a chimney at the other. *West Virginia Historical Magazine* (Oct., 1901), p. 52.

[24]The earlier salt furnaces usually had about fifty kettles each. See "Memoranda Made by Thomas R. Joynes on a Journey to the States of Ohio and Kentucky, 1810," *William and Mary College Quarterly*, X (Jan., 1902), p. 151.

[25]This left a good margin for profit. Judge Summers reported that the Ruffner Brothers' expense for making a bushel of salt in 1808 was 1s. 6d. In 1810 salt retailed at the furnaces for one dollar a bushel, and five furnaces were in operation. At the end of 1814 there were about fifty furnaces in operation and the price had fallen from one dollar to 85 cents. In January, 1815 it was reported that salt at the Kanawha Salines was selling from 50 to 62½ cents per bushel. No wonder the Kanawha salt trust was formed shortly after this period of decline in prices. *Southern Historical Magazine* (Feb., 1892), p. 61; "Memoranda by Thomas R. Joynes," *loc. cit.*; Phil. R. Thompson to the Governor, Dec. 16, 1814, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, ed. by H. W. Flournoy (Richmond, 1852), X, 408-411; *Niles Weekly Register*, VII (Jan. 28, 1815), p. 35.

made small enough to fit and screw into the auger that we were boring with and thus completed I took it down to the river and tried it in the sand under water and could pump it full — directly I said to myself this will do we can now keep our hole clear of boring without much trouble — this sand pump was ten feet long and two inches diameter — I took this sand pump up to the well we were then boring — tried it and it would bring up a gallon of borings at a time would clear the hole at once 2 or 3 times a day was as often enough to use it — and there was another advantage in this sand pump we could allways tell the strength of the water at the bottom of the hole and what rock we were boring —[26]

Now as simple a thing as the invention of this sand pump was it was mine and I might have gotten a patent Right for it but was all willing to contribute my little mite for the benefit of the salt works — without this sand pump where is there a single well that could have been bored — not one — where then would have been the salt works this day — but for this sand pump of poor old uncle Billys — perhaps no where on Kanawha — Well I wonder if there is a salt maker at this day that would feal himself under the least obligation to give the poor old man a lick of salt for all this Benefit

I also made the first tin tube ever put into a salt well on Kanawha[27] and made it the same way and with the same tools that I made my sand pump 60 feet in two days in three pieces sodered them together when perpendicular as we put it down into the hole — and unsodder them with two Brands of fire held round the joints — Screw joints for tubes were not known for a long time after this —

Isaac Noyes is the only living witness of my making the first sand pump — who with Levi Whitteker who was boreing with myself Noyeses uper well at that time (1810) — we were boring together the well — and when we had bored the depth of 150 feet we were some what discouraged so deep that we should never get water that would rise — Norris thought we had better quit and sink another gum — so we put it to vote — I voted to bore on farther but Noyes and Levi voted against me so we stopd boring — so I got another gum — and to find the right place there was an old man called the water witch who could tell exactly with his peach tree and Hazle fork where the salt water was — by holding one of these in both hands and walking along the Bank the end of the rod would draw down towards where the salt water was

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[26]Compare Whitteker's description with the following: "When so much of the rock is chiseled up, and comminuted so finely as to make, with the water, which always fills the hole, a soft muddy mass, and impedes the motion of the auger, the poles are withdrawn, and a tube, made of copper, five or six feet in length and three inches in diameter called the 'pump,' is screwed to the pole and let down. A valve, at the lower end, prevents the escape of the contents, which are discharged through a hole made for that purpose, near the top." S. P. Hildreth, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-55.

[27]The tin tubes were in turn superseded by copper and, later, iron tubes. *West Virginia Historical Magazine* (Oct., 1901), p. 51.

hard enough to screw the Bark off the branch he held in his hand —[28] and Isaac had superstition enough to believe it and I was a little that way inclined myself — so we sunk the gum and bored and got salt water — erected a furnace and made salt — after 18 months we Noyes and myself — thought we ought to have a settlement our accounts had been kept so loose that neither of us could tell how accounts stood he offered to take so much — and I offered to give so much — the difference was 600 bushels of salt — we agreed to Spit on a Chip and throw it up wet or dry which should have it — he won — this settled the business which law could not have done.

[28]The use of a divining-rod for discovering something hidden beneath the ground dates from time immemorial. In modern times the professional dowser or water finder used a forked hazel twig which, twisting in his hands through "motor automatism," led him by its directing power to a place where the boring should be made. Not all dowsers used a hazel twig. *The Encyclopedia Brittanica,* Fourteenth Edition, VII, 451.

West Virginians in the American Revolution

This is the fourth article in a series which contains an alphabetical check list of Revolutionary soldiers who at one time or another lived in what is now West Virginia. The series will continue for several numbers. This material has been assembled and edited by Ross B. Johnston. In the next few years, the Department of Archives and History hopes to publish this list in one volume, properly indexed. The public is invited to send in corrections as the material appears and to submit names of other Revolutionary soldiers whose authentic records qualify them to be listed among the other West Virginians who were with Washington's army.

This list of more than thirteen hundred sketches of Revolutionary soldiers from what is now West Virginia is offered with the full understanding that it represents only part of those who properly belong in this group. There are, for example, large lists of names, such as the roster of George Rogers Clark's forces of men, whose residences were uncertain, although many of the frontiersmen who joined Clark at Point Pleasant and Parkersburg on his western expedition lived west of the mountains.

The sources of this material are notes from the files of the Pension Office at Washington, from the pension applications in West Virginia counties, and from the minute books of the older West Virginia counties, copied by W. P. A. workers on the project sponsored by the West Virginia Commission on Historic and Scenic Markers; from notes of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Sons of the American Revolution, Sons of the Revolution, and other patriotic societies; and from a large miscellaneous group of

published and private sources. It was found necessary to condense many extended notes in order to save space. Doubtless this omitted some points of interest, but in most instances the omissions were repetitions of facts common to many other cases.

(Note: Numbers and letters appearing with many names are references to files of Pension Bureau, War Department, Washington, D. C.)

BRICKELL, GEORGE (Sergeant)

Service—Pennsylvania Pa. No. 31320 No. S-5302

Born, York County, Pennsylvania, October 16, 1760. At age of five, was adopted by Robert Ross, Redstone, Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania. Ross was drafted in 1776, and Brickell served as his substitute under Daniel Cannon in 1777. Served another term as a volunteer in 1781 under Captain Benjamin Whaley.

Applied for pension, December 29, 1837, Birmingham Burrough, Allegheny County, Pennsylvania. Supporting affidavits from Robert Bruce, R. A. Bausman, Sam Murphy, and Colonel James Paull. Held commission of sergeant from Captain Sample. (Note that this record does not show residence in western Virginia but is included because it was filed in the Virginia group.)

BRINKER, HENRY

Service—Virginia Va. No. 12558 No. S-5305

Enlisted in Virginia, 1781. Guarded English prisoners taken with General Burgoyne. While in Winchester under Captain Frost, was an express rider for General Lafayette. Stationed at Fredericksburg several weeks with volunteers under Colonel Thomas. Served two months with cavalry under Captain Gill and two months as lieutenant with Colonel Smith.

Applied for pension, September 24, 1832, Springfield, Hampshire County, Virginia. Certificate issued, May 9, 1833. Supporting affidavits by John J. Jacob and John Brady.

BRINKLEY, WILLIAM

On January 26, 1819, William Brinkley, aged sixty-one, resident of Greenbrier County, Virginia, appeared before its court and declared that he enlisted, Shenandoah County, Virginia, in company of Captain Jonathan Clark, in 1776, in Eighth Virginia Rifle Regiment under Colonel Muhlenberg, and that after two years he was honorably discharged in Suffolk County, Virginia.

BRISCOE, JOHN (Surgeon)

Settled near Shepherdstown in 1733; was active in organizing the militia during the Revolution and at one time acted as a surgeon of a company. He was born, March, 1717, and died, December 7, 1788. He married Elizabeth McMillan, a daughter of Captain John McMillan, who commanded a company of Berkeley County militia during the Revolution.

BRISCOE, REUBEN (Captain)

In April, 1778, was appointed captain of the Fourth Company of riflemen under Colonel Daniel Morgan.

BRITTON, JOSEPH

Service—Virginia Va. No. 6258 No. S-8087

Britton, in statement in Harrison County, says he enlisted, Winchester, Virginia, in 1779-1781, under Captain J. Chapman, Virginia Regiment, under Colonel Crockett, Colonel Gibson, and General George Rogers Clark, and that he continued in service for two years. He was first marched to Albemarle County to guard prisoners, thence to Frederick Town, thence to Pittsburgh, and then to the Falls of the Ohio, where he was discharged. Was with party when Indians fired upon them, killing Captains Chapman and Tipton. Applied for pension, Harrison County, August 21, 1832. Certificate was issued, February 27, 1833, later discontinued, but was resumed in 1835.

BROADUS, WILLIAM (Lieutenant)

Service—Virginia Va. No. 12757 No. W-8396 and B.L.Wt.-1875

Served from December 7, 1778, to February, 1781, in First Virginia Regiment, as a lieutenant under Colonel Gibson. Enlisted in Jefferson County where he applied for pension. Died October 7, 1830, or September, 1832. Married, February 18, 1805, in Hanover County, Virginia, by Rev. J. D. Blair. Name of wife given as Martha, who died, February 21, 1863, Harpers Ferry, Jefferson County, but widow is also referred to as Sara Ann Broaddus. Other heirs were Maria E. and Lavina. After much dispute, the heirs seem to have been given amount claimed, including bounty lands.

BROOKOVER, JOHN

Service—Virginia and Maryland Va. No. 16376 No. S-5300

Born in Maryland, about 1760. Enlisted at Carroll Manor, Maryland, at age of eighteen to escape a hard taskmaster, and served eighteen months as a private under Captain Francis Smith and Colonel Aulk, or Alcott, of the Virginia Line. Applied for pension, Wood County, October 4, 1832, and certificate was issued, August 3, 1833. Supporting affidavits by John Pugh, David Uhl, John Marshall, Noah Ogden, David Watts, Nancy Carter Easter, Sergeant Ezekiel Carter, Amos Brown, and Josiah Smith. Suspended, December 13, 1834, and nothing to show resumption.

BROOKS, WILLIAM

Service—Virginia Va. No. 12980 and 15458 No. R-1259

Born, February 3, 1752, Fauquier County, Virginia, and died, January 24, 1841. Enlisted in Culpeper County, Virginia, and shows following service: October, 1777, Culpeper County under Captain Richard Waugh, Colonels James Baxter and Hankiah Harmon, and Lieutenant Bazett Noe; February, 1781, Botetourt County, Captain James Woods, Colonel James Crockett; November 1, 1781, Captain Thomas Hamilton, Lieutenant William Slaughter, Ensign Robert Bush, and Colonel Charles Dabney.

Applied for pension, Fayette County, Virginia, September 25, 1832. Pension granted. Married, September 5, 1769, to Nancy Brooks. His widow applied for pension, August 29, 1843, but pension certificate was not granted owing to failure to produce sufficient proof of claim.

BROWN, ADAM

The grave of Adam Brown, Revolutionary soldier, who died in 1820, is near Price, on Jake's Run, Monongalia County.

BROWN, EDWARD

Service—Virginia No. 1292

Applied for pension, Lewis County, Virginia, June 29, 1834. He stated that he had lived in Lewis County for forty-three years, had previously lived in Harrison County, and before that time had been in Hardy County. He had enlisted in 1781 and was aged seventy or seventy-one in 1834. Special Federal Agent Singleton ruled that he had not had sufficient service to be granted a pension.

BROWN, GEORGE

Private in Captain Shepherd's rifle company. Taken captive at Fort Washington in 1776 but was exchanged.

BROWN, JAMES

Service—Virginia Va. No. 12650 No. S-6718

Born, 1756, Cumberland County, Pennsylvania. Resided in Hampshire County, now Hardy County, when Revolution began, and resided in Lewis County, in 1832, where he applied for pension. Certificate issued, May 16, 1833, but was later dropped. Enlisted, March, 1776, and served two years under Ensign Baldwin Parsons, Lieutenant Cunningham, Captain James Parsons, Captain Isaac Parsons, Colonel Gibson, and General McIntosh. Was an Indian Spy under Captain Tanner and Colonel Lowther. Held three discharges, from Summerel, Parsons, and Stump. Supporting papers from John Brown, a brother, and Mark Smith.

BROWN, JAMES

Member of Captain Shepherd's rifle company. Taken prisoner at the capture of Fort Washington in 1776 and was exchanged. Bought the Glove Tavern, once known as Entler's Hotel, Shepherdstown, from Daniel Bedinger. Married Eleanor Rutherford of Flowing Springs, daughter of Robert Rutherford and wife, Mary Daubigny Howe, widow of Lord George Howe, killed at Ticonderoga in 1758.

BROWN, JOHN (Sergeant)

Service—Virginia Va. No. 12189 No. R-1277

Born, August 25, 1763, and died February 10, 1843. Enlisted, Leeds Town, Westmoreland County, Virginia, 1779-1781, and served as private two years in company of Captain John Mazarott, Captain Christopher Roan, Fifth Virginia Regiment, Continental Line, Colonel Thomas Marshall and General Wayne. Was in campaigns about Petersburg, Hillsboro,

Camden, and Yorktown. Applied for pension, October 18, 1818, Hampshire County, Virginia; certificate issued May 17, 1819.

Married, November, 1792, to Ann Murphy. Widow applied for pension, October 5, 1843. Widow born about September 10, 1765. Following are children's names: Elizabeth Brown, born 1800; William and Margaret (twins), 1803; Peggy, 1805; Corbin, 1793; James F., 1804; Elizabeth Hansbrough, 1799; Tanney McClough Brown, (date uncertain).

Brown was a private in Marshall's artillery, receiving discharge from Colonel P. Kump, and his statement shows that he did the work of a sergeant during the same period. He received pension as a sergeant. He resided in Hampshire County in 1819, in Wheeling, Ohio County, in March, 1837, and in Pickaway County, Ohio, in August, 1837, and in 1839. Supporting affidavit by William Sandy.

BROWN, JOHN (Ensign)
Service—Virginia Va. No. 12649 No. S-6720

Enlisted, Hampshire County, Virginia, March 1, 1781, and served as private and ensign under Captain M. Stump, Colonel William Darke, General Weeden, and General Muhlenberg. Applied for pension, August 7, 1832, Lewis County. Certificate issued, May 16, 1833, but was later dropped from the rolls.

BROWN, OLIVER (Captain-Lieutenant)
Service—Continental, Massachusetts No. 6213 and 32409 No. S-8088

Born at Lexington, Massachusetts, in 1752; died, February 17, 1846, and is buried at Wellsburg, Brooke County, West Virginia. The epitaph on his tombstone reads: "He stood in front of the first cannon fired by the British on the Americans in the affray at Lexington; witnessed the 'Tea Party' in Boston Harbor; was at the Battle of Bunker Hill; commissioned by Congress, January 16, 1776; commanded the volunteer party which carried off the leaden statue of King George from the Battery of New York and made it into bullets for the American army; bore a conspicuous part in command of the artillery at the battles of White Plains, Harbor Heights, Princeton, Trenton, Germantown, and Monmouth."

Enlisted in corps of artillery commanded by Colonel Richard Gridley as lieutenant, June to December, 1775; received commission as lieutenant in regiment of artillery commanded by General Henry Knox, signed by John Hancock, president of Congress, dated December 13, 1775; on January 1, 1777, was commissioned captain-lieutenant of regiment of artillery commanded by Colonel Henry Crain. Resigned last commission, April 30, 1779.

Applied for pension, May 23, 1818, Wellsburg, Brooke County, Virginia. Name of wife, Abigail; daughter, Elizabeth, aged twenty, 1818. Pension granted, February 1, 1819, and increased, December 25, 1845. Died, February 17, 1846.

BROWN, SAMUEL

Private in Captain Shepherd's rifle company. Was taken prisoner in 1776, was exchanged, and was killed September 26, 1777.

BROWN, THOMAS

Service—Virginia Va. No. 2581 No. S-6769

Born, September 7, 1760, Prince William County, Virginia. Enlisted, 1780, at Dumfries, Prince William County, and served as a private in company of Captain John Britt, under Colonel Lucas, General Stevens, and General Green in the Virginia Line. Engaged on marches and guard duty in Virginia, and North and South Carolina. Applied for pension, Preston County, Virginia, August 14, 1832, and certificate was granted, December 1, 1833.

BROWN, WILLIAM

William Brown, a private in the Revolution, was born in Cecil County, Maryland, October 11, 1752, and died in Brooke County, Virginia, July 3, 1832. Before the Revolution, he lived in Delaware. He was married to Patience Marvel in 1773. He is buried at West Liberty.

BROWNLEE, JOHN

Service—Pennsylvania No. S-39238

Enlisted, 1776, Washington County, Pennsylvania, with Captain James Carnaghen's and Captain Joseph Irvings' (Irvens') companies in the battalion of riflemen in the regiment, commanded by Colonel Samuel Mills. Colonel Mills was taken prisoner in the battle of Lewistown and his command reduced to thirty-five men, so it was consolidated with another commanded by Colonel Ball (later by Colonel Walter Stewart).

Continued to serve until receiving discharge, January, 1778, signed by Colonel Walter Stewart, of the 18th Pennsylvania Regiment at Valley Forge. Served eighteen months and was in battles of Long Island, White Plains, the taking of the Hessians at Trenton, Princeton, Brandywine, and Germantown. Supporting claims by John Marshall. Applied for pension, June 20, 1818, Washington County, Pennsylvania. Had moved to Brooke County, Virginia, prior to September 4, 1827.

BRYAN, DANIEL

Native of Maryland, and served in the Maryland Line, but after the Revolution came to Jefferson County, Virginia, where he was pensioned and died in 1834.

BRYAN, TIMMONS

Private in Captain Shepherd's rifle company. May not have been captured with greater part of his company, as he was drafted into another rifle company in January, 1777.

BUCHANAN, ROBERT

Service—New Jersey Va. No. 16400 No. S-37806

Enlisted, Orange County, New York, May, 1777, and remained in service until May, 1780. Was in company of Captain Bunnel, or Burrel, and Colonel Spencer, Fourth Jersey Regiment. Was in a battle against the Indians in the state of New York and was also in several skirmishes. Received honorable discharge at Morristown, New Jersey.

Pension application, November 23, 1819, Greenbrier County, Virginia. Certificate received, January 26, 1820. Wife was aged sixty-nine or seventy in 1820.

BUCKLEY, JOHN

In the court minutes of Berkeley County, Virginia, December 23, 1788, it is recorded that Ann Watson, late the widow of John Buckley, a drummer in the Continental service, who was enlisted for five years and died in New Jersey, appeared in court and proved that she was the said widow, and that she had remained a widow until January, 1787.

BUFFINGTON, DAVID

Service—Virginia Ohio No. 4008 No. W-4906

Born, Romney, Hampshire County, 1762. Resided in Hampshire County until 1822, then lived in Fairfield County, Ohio. Died, October 6, 1836.

Served one year and eleven months under Captain Kirkpatrick, Colonels Febecker, Gaskins, and Baron Von Steuben. Married, Hampshire County, March 2, 1784. Wife, Margaret, aged eighty-two, in 1845. Soldier applied for pension, Walnut Township, Fairfield County, Ohio, November 6, 1832. Certificate issued, 1833. Widow applied for pension, January 17, 1845. Military warrant, No. 2991, issued for 200 acres of land. Supporting affidavits by John Wiseman and John Hall.

Children of David and Margaret Buffington and dates of birth: Mary, May 11, 1786; Rebecca, September 6, 1788; John, November 18, 1790; Catherine, April 16, 1793; Susannah, August 14, 1794; Peter, February 22, 1797; Richard, November 21, 1802; Mary Ann, June 20, 1806; William, August 11, 1808.

BUMGARNER (BOMGARDNER), DAVID

Born, Shenandoah County, Virginia, May, 1758. Died, October 9, 1835. Enlisted in Shenandoah County, September, 1777, and served six months as a private under Lieutenant McCarty, Captain Rader, in Virginia Line, under Colonels Steel and Gibson, and General Hand.

Married Catherine Bunner, Shenandoah County, April 18, 1786, or 1787; Rev. John Comer as the minister, as recorded in that county. Applied for pension, August 27, 1832, and October 7, 1833, Jackson and Mason Counties, Virginia. Certificates issued, as well as later certificates to the widow. Supporting claims filed by A. Waggoner and Adam Whitzel.

BUNNEL, JOHN

Service—Continental Va. No. 5995 No. W-6222

Enlisted in Virginia, March, 1782, and served fourteen months as a gunner under Captain Malchen in Colonel Lamb's artillery regiment. Applied for pension, Harrison County, Virginia, May 19, 1818. Certificate issued, July 28, 1819. Married, May 8, 1792, to Hannah Smith, who was forty-eight years old in 1820, and who applied for pension in Marion County, Virginia, August 3, 1844. Two children: Charles, 12; Margaret, 3. (Widow appears to have married a second time.) Supporting claims by Sarah Johnson and Elijah Price.

BURDIN, JOHN
Service—Delaware-New York Va. No. 23968 No. S-12369

Born Sussex County, Delaware, 1752. Enlisted, Chester County, Pennsylvania, and Broadhill, Delaware, 1778 and 1779, and served as private one year under Lieutenant Harrad, Ensigns Hall and Sackett, Colonel Hall, and Colonel Selden. Applied for pension, August 28, 1832, Monongalia County, Virginia. Certificate issued, March 7, 1833; then suspended but restored in later years.

BURGESS, EDWARD
Service—Maryland Va. No. 18784-18983 No. S-37813

Enlisted, Fayette County, Pennsylvania, June 1, 1778, and July 1, 1779. Had previously lived in Maryland. Served as private one year under Captain Thomas Bell, Maryland Line, Continental Establishment, under Colonel Moses Rawlings. Received honorable discharge at Fort Pitt, Pennsylvania.

Pension application, March 5, 1822, Fayette County, Pennsylvania. Certificate issued, May 29, 1823. Transferred to Morgantown, Virginia, July 25, 1825. Supporting claims by Uriah Springer.

BURKHAM, STEPHEN

Born, Berkeley County. In the autumn of 1768, his father's family moved to the Youghiogheny near Beeson's Fort. McIntosh's campaign was the first military campaign in which he engaged. In 1781, he went on Williamson's Moravian expedition, and the next year on Crawford's disastrous Sandusky campaign. He was likewise present at the siege of Wheeling in 1782. In 1845, he was living near Wheeling.

BURNER, ABRAHAM
Service—Virginia Va. No. 898 No. W-24693

Born, Shenandoah County, Virginia, about 1753, son of Earhart Burner. Died, June 28, 1827. Enlisted, January, 1777, and February or March, 1778, and served two years as private under Captains Mathias Hite and Rinker, Eighth Virginia Regiment, Continental Establishment commanded by Colonel Bowman.

Married, Mary Magdalene Hull, June 5, 1780, Pendleton County, Virginia. They had seven sons and two daughters. Soldier applied for pension, October 25, 1819, Randolph County, Virginia. Certificate issued, November 27, 1819. Widow applied for pension, June 3, 1839, and certificate was issued February 20, 1840. She was born in Pendleton County, Virginia, about 1763 and died January 18, 1840, before the pension in her favor had been granted, so it was paid to four living children.

Among persons making supporting affidavits were Henry Burner, brother of the soldier, Adam Arbogast, and John Slaven.

BURNS, GEORGE
Service—Virginia No. R-1483

Born, Louden County, Virginia, March 12, 1757. Moved to Rockingham in 1772 and to Randolph County in 1800. Substituted for John Par-

sons as a private of militia, April, 1778, for seven months, and for Adam Simmons, April, 1781, for six months. Served under Generals Hand, McIntosh, Campbell, Wayne, Lafayette, Baron Von Steuben, Colonels Dickinson, Skillern, Van Meter, Harrison, Waggoner, Stricker, Butler, Hugart, and Captains Cunningham, Joseph Berry, Smith, Ragan, and Long. Claim was rejected.

BURROWS, EZEKIEL
Service—Delaware Va. No. 5219 No. S-39259

Enlisted in Delaware and served one year as a private in the Flying Camp regiment, Delaware Line, under Captain Perry and Colonel D. Hall. Applied for pension, April 28, 1818, Monongalia County, Virginia. Certificate issued, January 7, 1819.

BUSH, DENNIS (Sergeant)

Was sergeant in Captain Shepherd's rifle company. Was recruited by Henry Bedinger in Berkeley County, Virginia. Taken prisoner at Fort Washington but was exchanged.

BUSH, JACOB
Service—Virginia Va. No. 16970 No. W-24685

Enlisted, 1778, in Captain Samuel Pringle's company of Indian spies from Buckhannon Fort. Scouted from the West Fork and Little Kanawha rivers to the Ohio River under Lieutenant Westfall. Also served under the militia regiment of Colonel Morgan. Substituted for his brother, John Bush, with Captain Jackson and Lieutenant William White. Joined army of General Clark and descended the Ohio River to the Falls. Frequently acted as hunter. Killed two deer on the north side of river and took the brains of one to General Clark who treated him to whisky. Alexander West, David M. Sleeth, John Talbott, George Butcher, and Adam Flesher supported his claim. Mentions William Powers. Born, 1756, Hampshire County, Virginia. Before the Revolution, lived in Monongalia County, now Lewis County.

Bush married Margaret Snarr, or Swan, in Augusta or Hardy County, 1782-1784, by publication of Reverend Mitchell. Witnesses were Adam Flesher, John Cutright, and Christianna McCune. Their children were: Henry, Peter, Jacob, John, George, Elizabeth (Stump), Margaret (Stump), Barbary (Fisher), Susannah (Simpson), and Michael (dead, leaving a widow, Mary, and a son, Adam).

Soldier applied for pension, November 7, 1832. Certificate was issued, October 18, 1833, but as soldier had died in the meantime, November 27, 1832, pension was issued in favor of his widow, Margaret. Soldier is buried in Gilmer County. Widow applied for pension, August 7, 1833, and it was issued. She died, July 28, 1847.

BUTCHER, PAULSER (PAULCERE)

Both Lewis and Gilmer counties claim the burial place of Paulser Butcher, but the evidence is in favor of the Butcher cemetery in Lewis County. He is believed to be buried there with his wife, Elizabeth Bush

Butcher, and an unbroken line of descendants for eight generations. Butcher, with six brothers, is believed to have served in the Revolution under Washington, and four of this number gave up their lives in the service.

BUTCHER, SAMUEL (Lieutenant)

Born, Louden County, Virginia, March 28, 1756. There he enlisted, October, 1780, and served as first lieutenant, under commission of Governor of Virginia. His officers included Captains Davis, Shores, and Noland, Colonels Alexander and Dabney, Majors Jacob Reed, Quarles, and Campbell, Generals Washington, Weedon, Wayne, and Lafayette. Applied for pension, Wood County, Virginia, November 12, 1833, but was rejected as having insufficient service. Died, 1847. Had lived in Fauquier, Hardy, Randolph, and Wood counties.

Supporting affidavits by James Cooper, Turner Boulware, and Susannah Lenard (Leonard or Leander). Abstract of his will is as follows: To my son, Thomas, 100 acres; also "six acres adjoining the mansion house, three acres of which was conveyed to me by Margaret Dawkins and three acres by William Hill"; mentions among other heirs, daughter, Susannah Vaughn, Eli, John and Peyton Burcher, Ury Reeder, Tasy Hammer, Ann Vaughan, Deborah Pribble, and Hannah Kincheloe. Atwell Vaughan, Susan Vaughan, and J. D. Riley were named executors.

BURCHNELL, JAMES

Resided in Lewis County, Virginia, in 1824, where he applied for pension. His claim was rejected after report of Special Federal Agent Singleton.

BUTT, ARCHIBALD

Service—Maryland and North Carolina Va. No. 16439 No. S-39252

Enlisted, Prince George County, Maryland, 1777-1782. Served five years as private under Captain Benjamin Coleman, William Smith, (recruiting officer) in Second North Carolina Regiment Continental Establishment, under Colonel Clark. In action at Monmouth, Charleston, and Little York. Taken prisoner at Charleston by Cornwallis' army, held for four weeks in close confinement, until he escaped. Joined American army at Annapolis, Maryland, under General Mordecai Gist and continued in service until the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown.

Applied for pension, Greenbrier County, Virginia, November 24, 1819, aged fifty-five. Certificate was issued, November 28, 1819. Widow was aged sixty-nine, September 1, 1820. Their children were Nancy, 14; William, 11; John, 9; and Thomas 5 or 6.

BUTT, (BUTTS) BARUCH

Service—Maryland No. S-39258

Enlistments, April 3, 1778, August 1, 1780, to November 15, 1783, from Prince George County, Maryland. Served under Captain Williams, Second Maryland Regiment, and Colonel Wolford, at Camden and Cowpens. Honorably discharged at Annapolis, Maryland, 1783. Certificate of service

supported by Joe Couss, Lieutenant, Osburn Williams, Lieutenant, and R. Loorherman, Adjutant General. (Note: Although all service seems to be in Maryland, this claim is grouped with the Virginia claims. His name appears in one of the rifle companies enrolled by Colonel Daniel Morgan in 1777.)

BUTT, EDWARD J. ZACHARIAH

Before the Greenbrier County Court, Thomas Butt secured approval of an order to the War Department that it appears to the satisfaction of the court by competent testimony that the said Thomas is one of the legitimate heirs at law of Edward J. Z. Butt, who was killed in battle while in the service of the States during the Revolutionary War. (His name is in Captain Shepherd's rifle company in 1776. He appears to have been drafted into another company in 1777.)

BUTT, THOMAS

Service—Maryland Mo. No. 4799 No. W-8252 B. L. Wt.-10982

Served as a musician under Captain Silburn Williams, Second Maryland Regiment, Continental Line, Colonel Wolford. Applied for pension, May 25, 1829, Greenbrier County, Virginia. Married, February 6, 1809, to Mary Taylor. Soldier died March 1, 1833. Widow, aged sixty-eight, applied for pension, November 29, 1854, Henry County, Illinois, later Missouri, and certificate was issued in her favor, December 16, 1854. Supporting claims by William Humphrey, Thomas D. Butt, Sarah Butt, Thomas Perry, and Peter Beyer.

BURNS, JAMES (Sergeant)

Service—Pennsylvania-Maryland Va. No. 17783 No. S-39267

Enlisted, Pennsylvania and Maryland, and served three years under Colonel Mordecai Gist in Captain John Smith's company. He was afterwards sergeant in the Maryland Line. After his first enlistment, he served to the end of the war in Captain John Head's company of infantry, attached to Colonel Stephen Moyland's, or Moylen's, light dragoons of the Pennsylvania Line and was discharged by Colonel Richard Butler at Lancaster, Pennsylvania. He also mentions Major Archibald Anderson and Major General Lincoln. He was wounded in the leg at Camden, South Carolina, where his captain was taken prisoner.

Applications for pension made in Brooke and Ohio counties, 1818 and 1820. At that time his wife was dead, and he was living with a granddaughter and her husband. A supporting claim is made by J. J. Bough.

BYRES, JACOB

Born in Chester County, Pennsylvania. Lived in Shepherdstown during the Revolution. Was enlisted for Captain Bedinger's company by Captain Cherry, December 3, 1782.

BYRNES (BYRNS), JOHN (Sergeant)

Service—Pennsylvania, Maryland, Continental Va. No. 3482 No. W-6224

Enlisted, Hagerstown, Maryland, in 1775, as a private in the Virginia Line, and later as a sergeant in the Pennsylvania Line, under Captains Kersley, Skin, and Busher, Sixth Virginia Regiment, and Eleventh Pennsylvania Regiment, Colonels Hendricks, Hand, and Hulby.

Born in 1750 and died, November 7, 1836. Applied for pension, Harrison County, Virginia, April 13, 1818. Certificate issued, October 8, 1818. Married, Esther Cavalier, in Harrison County, Virginia, March 12, 1792. She applied for pension, June 23, 1847, and received certificate. Supporting claims by Rebecca Cavalier, William L. Richardson, and Elizabeth Wadsworth Byrnes, a daughter-in-law.

BYRNES, THOMAS

Born in Langford County, Ireland. Recruited by Henry Bedinger from Berkeley County, Virginia, in 1782.

CABBAGE, CONRAD

Enlisted for Captain Shepherd's rifle company, August 6, 1776, by Henry Bedinger. Taken prisoner at Fort Washington, November 16, 1776, and died in prison, January 7, 1777.

CAIN, JOHN (Sergeant)

Service—Virginia Va. No. 16903 No. S-17873

Claimed service for twenty-two months as a private and sergeant with the Virginia troops in pension application in 1832. Certificate was issued October 12, 1833, but it was dropped in 1835, and not reinstated. Mrs. Catharine Lowther, July 19, 1834, gave her own birth as October 27, 1766, and the birth of her brother, John Cain, as February 26, 1769.

Book Reviews

FILIBUSTERING IN THE SENATE, by Franklin L. Burdette (Princeton University Press, 1940. Pp. 240; $2.50)

One is prone to criticise an army which expends its energy chiefly in marking time, especially when there is an enemy to conquer. The same criticism may be levelled against an author who has expended precious energy without making any appreciable advance. No doubt, the effort to uncover much of the materials from dusty repositories has been painstaking, but one would be more pleased if the materials had inspired the author to come to grips with what is manifestly the problem, i.e. the *evaluation* of the filibuster in the context of our governmental system. Instead, one finds himself exposed too much to the heat and loquaciousness of the dilatory speeches of Senators. A sampling of the chatter of the filibuster to inform the reader that it is chatter would seem sufficient to drive the point home. Why labor it *ad nauseam*?

A search through the 240 pages of this book for new light on the subject of filibustering would seem to be almost fruitless. A comparison with the work of Professor Rogers,* written some fourteen years ago indicates that it is quite possible for the materials to be substantially condensed into twenty-nine pages. One finds in Professor Rogers' book the same observations that Mr. Burdette now records: the fact that a minority using the filibuster in the Senate may actually represent the majority of the people; that practically every proposal defeated by the filibuster has rarely been readvocated; that most meritorious measures have not been defeated by the filibuster; that dilatory moves may be used for positive as well as for negative purposes; that filibustering may aid in focusing public attention upon proposals otherwise buried in legislative machinery; that victory for those who filibuster usually is won through the hold of the Senatorial minority upon appropriation bills; that the filibuster may serve as a needed check upon the executive, etc.

True, Professor Rogers is much more certain of the advantages of the filibuster as an institution than is Mr. Burdette, for the former has seen in its use a valuable tool which may be used to prevent the quashing of a senatorial investigation of the executive by a Senate majority subservient to executive power. Mr. Burdette simply *lists* this argument, together with the others, in the same manner as one who lists the debits and credits on a balance sheet without actually making any effort to know the balance. In two instances, however, Mr. Burdette offers evidence which may modify Professor Rogers' assertions. One is the technique under the Reorganization Act of 1939, which empowers

**The American Senate*, by Lindsay Rogers (1926), particularly pp. 161-190.

the President to formulate a plan of reorganization and to put it into effect, provided Congress should not pass an act within sixty days expressing its disapproval. Here a minority, instead of providing a weapon against a powerful executive may aid a weak executive and prevent Congressional disapproval by use of the filibuster. The second bit of evidence would cast doubt on Professor Rogers' confident prediction that the abolition of the short session would greatly handicap the obstructionists. Mr. Burdette clearly shows that since the abolition of the short session, the reverse is exactly true, i.e. that the filibuster is still strongly with us.

Just what Mr. Burdette's final stand on the filibuster is is not clear, however. On page 9, for instance, he tells us what the "political theorists," the "charitable scholars," and the "politicians" have thought of tactics of obstruction. He then adds his bit by the statement:

"Obstruction is a weapon and like all weapons it is dangerous. Yet in the lives of nations as of men there are times when weapons are a safeguard, and it is indeed a high degree of civilization in which they are useless."

On page 240, however, we learn that:

"The problem of dilatory tactics will exist to some degree so long as there are conflicts between majorities and minorities. The solution, whatever it is, will never be found to lie wholly in a set of rules. It must rest upon the election of legislators with a keen sense of public responsibility, men who will never allow political strife to thwart a need for action."

It is indeed regrettable that the author, with the vast array of materials at hand did not make any serious attempt to *test* the views of such students of the problem as Professor Rogers and Professor Haynes.† His work would have been much more valuable had he avoided repetition of known facts, e.g. the Force Bill filibuster, the La Follette marathon, the frontal attack of Vice-President Dawes, etc., and had concentrated his efforts upon an evaluation of the subject at hand. It is hoped that such a work will still be forthcoming from his pen.

West Virginia University — JULIUS COHEN

†George H. Haynes, *The Senate of the United States* (1938), 2 vols.

FRANCIS WALKER GILMER: LIFE AND LEARNING IN JEFFERSON'S VIRGINIA, by Richard Beale Davis, Associate Professor of English, Mary Washington College. The Dietz Press, Richmond. Pp. 408; $5.00.)

Through the biography of Francis Walker Gilmer, Dr. Davis has essayed to present "a study in Virginia literary culture in the first quarter of the nineteenth century." That he has succeeded in so difficult a task is due in almost equal degree to Dr. Davis' solid scholarship and to the fact that Francis Walker Gilmer had a part in almost everything that could possibly pass as literary culture in Virginia at that time.

For such a study it would be hard to find a better central figure than Francis Walker Gilmer. Born in the shadow of Monticello and a frequent guest there in Jefferson's latter days, pupil, protege, and brother-in-law of William Wirt, beloved friend of John Randolph of Roanoke, Gilmer knew the great and the near-great of his day, and knew them as an equal. Consequently, the letters he received and the letters he wrote are of interest to anyone concerned with the period.

Gilmer's "one completed major undertaking, his one deeply significant achievement," was his work as the agent of the Rector, Thomas Jefferson, and the Board of Visitors of the newly founded University of Virginia, in selecting and employing that institution's first faculty. For this purpose he spent six months in England in 1824. The fact that he recruited such men as George Long, Robley Dunglison, Charles Bonnycastle, and Thomas Key, illuminates his scholarly taste and perception as well as the impression he must have created in the mother country to have been able to bring such men three thousand miles to serve in an infant institution in a new country. That George Blaetterman, whom he also engaged, was later dismissed from the faculty for beating his wife, is probably more interesting than significant.

This trip, undertaken in the service of his friend Jefferson and his native state, cost Gilmer his life, for the long ocean voyage home, undertaken in winter, so weakened him that he was unable to serve in his capacity as the University's first professor of law, and died of pulmonary tuberculosis in 1826.

Besides his work in that most difficult of undertakings, the choosing of proper and able men for the University, posterity owes Gilmer a debt for his *Sketches of American Orators.* In this we have a contemporary or near contemporary description of the appearance and oratorical method of John Randolph, John Marshall, Patrick Henry, Henry Clay, William Wirt, and William Pinckney. Gilmer's published works also include essays on such diverse subjects as the geological formation of Natural Bridge and a vindication of the laws against usury. He was asked by Du Pont de Nemours to translate the latter's work on education in the United States from the French. He completed the translation, but for some reason, now unknown, it was never published.

It is, however, in his correspondence that Gilmer's importance from the literary standpoint matters. There his best prose and most interesting material is found. In his biography, Dr. Davis has wisely allowed the man and his friends to speak for themselves.

This work is based on Dr. Davis' dissertation in English, submitted to the faculty whose first members were chosen by Francis Walker Gilmer. Gilmer would probably approve of the solid scholarship of his biographer. There are none of the tricks of the so-called "popular" biography. The work contains no imaginary conversations, no attempts at sensationalism, and no muck-raking or de-bunking. It is not a book which can be skimmed quickly, but rather a study which will repay careful and serious reading.

In the mechanics of scholarship, too, Dr. Davis has acquitted himself well. His footnotes are clear and the bibliography is inclusive. His method of presenting the manuscript section of the bibliography is particularly praiseworthy. The only flaw in the book lies in the failure of the publishers to live up to the standard set by the author. The text is marred by at least twenty typographical errors, while footnotes sometimes land on pages preceding or following the page to which they refer. But even publisher's errors, irritating as they are, can't prevent this from being a thoroughly worth-while and valuable addition to the history of Virginia and the United States.

King College JOHN CARTER MATTHEWS
Bristol, Tennessee

WEST VIRGINIA, THE MOUNTAIN STATE, by C. H. Ambler (Prentice-Hall, New York, 1940. Pp. 660; $4.00 list)

It is almost impossible to render a complete review of *West Virginia, The Mountain State* in the few paragraphs allotted for this purpose. This article must, therefore, be partially confined to an appraisal of the book, rather than a comprehensive review. Special attention is being given its many innovations as a differentiation with Professor Ambler's earlier book, *A History of West Virginia*, which was published in 1933.

West Virginia, The Mountain State integrates into one readable volume a great deal of material unknown at the time the earlier book was published. Since 1933 its author's time has been given to prodigious research with the publication of such popular books as *George Washington and the West*, *Francis H. Pierpont, War Governor of Virginia*, and other publications which are incorporated into this book under review. Even before this seven-year interim the author's reputation as an eminent historian was fully established by the publication of such books as *Sectionalism in Virginia, 1776-1861* and *A History of Transportation in the Ohio Valley*. If there is anyone in West Virginia who is truly qualified to write such a book, it is indeed Professor Ambler.

By the limitations of a single volume covering more than three centuries and having its setting at one of the crossroads of America, its author would necessarily have to omit much informative material in the interest of maintaining a well balanced book. When I pause to consider the magnitude of this epic undertaking, I marvel at the organization and the continuity of thought which is maintained throughout.

Evaluation through the perspective of time and the experience of teaching has prompted the abridgment of much appearing in the earlier publication. The reorganization of chapters and the addition of others warrant the bestowal of its new title, *West Virginia, The Mountain State*.

From the opening chapter the reader is made cognizant of great geographic, social, and economic differences which were eventually to terminate in an impending crisis with irresistible force. This gives, with remarkable clarity, a portrayal of the American frontier with particular emphasis upon that sector known as the transmontane. Because of the

geographic proximity of this region to the Ohio River, "the gateway to the West," western Virginia was destined to be the crossroad in the "Path of an Empire." In a measure this region became a melting pot for those persons of German extraction who made their way into present West Virginia from Pennsylvania to be amalgamated with the Scotch-Irish from the cismontane which gave to our progenitors a frugality and rugged individualism so necessary in coping with the arduous ordeals facing a frontier society. Many pioneers who settled farther west were first inducted into that democratic vista as they traversed through the rugged terrain of western Virginia.

This scholarly research reveals the prevalence of much intrigue and chicanery among certain individuals with whom the desire for land grants became an obsession. Some of the more noteworthy of these were the Indiana and Vandalia schemes, the latter almost resulting in the creation of a colony. The boundary dispute between Pennsylvania and Virginia presents a phase of colonial history which had many ramifications and should be of particular interest to our northern commonwealth. These complications and the colorful trips of George Washington set up an interesting era in American history. These are logically superimposed upon a background of international rivalries, and the founding of the United States.

An outstanding trait of the settlers in western Virginia was Christian orthodoxy. In the author's later book greater recognition is accorded the Presbyterians with the implication that they may have crossed the Potomac into the Eastern Panhandle of present West Virginia as early at 1719. That Morgan Morgan was reputed to have been the first white settler receives less credence with the possibility that he may not have settled here until after 1730 rather than 1726 as formerly was believed.

While the Baptist and Methodist denominations entered this State later, they were none the less active in furnishing a type of frontier evangelism and piety which was widely accepted. The activities of the latter denomination was a particularly strong factor in the formation of the State. This Christian orthodoxy was in evidence by the many moralists and fundamentalists who subsequently were to attain positions of high rank in their respective churches.

With the division of the churches in western Virginia about 1844 there was engendered intense bitterness. By litigation over church lands these animosities have lasted until comparatively recent times as a reminder of the time that brother was arrayed against brother, family against family, and church against church.

Located between the aristocratic East and the democratic West, as a border state between the North and South, western Virginia was entangled in conflicting philosophies. Such disagreements as the amount of money to be spent for free public schools rather than for the support of higher education, whether representation should be based upon the white basis of suffrage or the property basis, and more appropriations for internal improvements for western Virginia became set convictions. Compromise was impossible.

The most outstanding contribution of this new publication is, in my opinion, upon the formation of the new state. This has been made possible by a wealth of new material collected by Professor Ambler with particular reference to the debates of the first constitutional convention. The question of what should comprise a "proper" boundary for the new state; the reluctance of many to accept the Willey Amendment providing for the gradual emancipation of the slaves; short biographic sketches of the fathers of the new state; and the political bitterness that was perpetrated by the enfranchisement of the Negroes and the simultaneous disfranchisement of thousands of white men.

West Virginia, being a border state, was the scene of fraticidal strife during and following the Civil War. Farther north and farther south there was more united action which was not true here. The reader can readily see that the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad was the major objective of the contending armies within this area. This railroad was of paramount importance to the Union, and the railroad was paramountly interested in its preservation and certainly preferred the creation of a new state to any restrictive measures that the Confederacy or even the Old Dominion might impose upon it. Under a new chapter called "When Brother Killed Brother," the author introduces biographic sketches of the military leaders. A vein of humor is injected by the Wise-Floyd combine in the Kanawha Valley, the kidnapping of Generals Crook and Kelley from a hotel room in Cumberland by Captain Jesse McNeill, and the "pressing business" which kept General Fremont in seclusion at Wheeling. The dashing raids of such men as Jenkins, Imboden, Jones, Averell, and that "unreconstructed rebel" McCausland gives this book that touch of adventure that all readers enjoy.

West Virginia, the child of the Civil War, was born under the stigma of illegitimacy and was denied the traditions tending to immortalize the founders of some states. Garbed with this doubtful origin, the new state was heckled by outsiders and torn with political dissension within. Its origin was to pass in review by litigation such as the Virginia debt controversy which lasted over fifty years. Notwithstanding its peculiar beginning, this new state was blessed with a bountiful supply of natural resources. It has been developed, but it has been also exploited. It has been ironic that many of these outside entrepreneurs subsequently controlled its politics, and government was restrained with a conservatism that has not always been conducive to reforms.

The earlier volume was considerably weakened by the scarcity of maps, which are indispensable tools in the teaching and understanding of history. This has been greatly remedied in the later publication. Special attention should be given to the one on railroads and the one upon the military phases of the Civil War in West Virginia. Other maps showing the old forts, acadamies, and present institutions within West Virginia could yet be an added feature of this new publication.

This book is documented in the scholarly manner which has always characterized Professor Ambler's historical works. Throughout, one is

imbued with a profound faith for its historical authenticity. It should perpetuate for years to come a real interest in West Virginia, The Mountain State.

New River State College
Montgomery, West Virginia
LLOYD L. BROWN

JAMES MADISON, PHILOSOPHER OF THE CONSTITUTION, by Edward McNall Burns (Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, 1938. Pp. 212)

This examination of the political philosophy of James Madison, "Father of the Constitution," is a most valuable contribution to the history of American political thought. Heretofore, Madison's theory has received superficial attention. The author has subjected Madison's philosophy to a detailed and critical analysis using for the most part materials original in source. His extensive bibliography indicates the comprehensive character of his exploration of Madison's theories of government.

The plan of this study is composed of four parts which contain sections describing Madison's "General Theory of the State," his "Views on Democracy," his "Theory of the Union and the Constitution," his "Theory of Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Powers," and a "Conclusion" devoted to the significance and influence of Madison's Theory.

The author finds that Madison's ideas concerning the state were derived from a variety of sources. Of the great English philosophers, Harrington and Locke appear to have had the most influence on Madison. Montesquieu's theory of the separation of powers and some of his other doctrines influenced Madison's thinking. Naturally, it is no mere coincidence that the writings from which many ideas were incorporated in the constitution should be the chief contributing sources to Madison's political thought. In addition to those already mentioned, it appears that Madison was greatly influenced by his political friend and contemporary, Thomas Jefferson, although his views did not entirely coincide with those of Jefferson.

Madison believed that the state was an artificial creation of its own members, and the result of an agreement, rather than a product of history or evolution. The primary purpose of government was to protect property and liberty. Madison would probably have been alarmed at the activities of modern governments as he favored the restriction of the province of government so the "natural laws that operate in the social and economic spheres" could function. The perfect state to Madison was largely agrarian, with an elective and representative government, federal in form, with separation of powers and a citizenry of diverse interests so there would be a balance between the various factions.

One of the most loosely-used, current political terms is democracy. Today most everyone in these United States believes in democracy, but they disagree as to what democracy means. Max Lerner has termed those who emphasize the protection of minority and individual rights

against governmental encroachment as "liberals," while those who emphasize the rule of the majority are "democrats." If James Madison's ideas were measured by this yardstick he would be a "liberal" rather than a "democrat." He feared the "tyranny" of the majority as well as the oppression of a minority. Consequently, he was not an advocate of universal suffrage as applied to both branches of the legislature; one branch, he believed, should be selected by voters meeting certain property qualification. He also favored a system of "checks and balances" as a guarantee of limiting the power of any group. He believed the law of nature, which might be partially incorporated in a bill of rights, constituted an absolute limitation upon the powers of the legislature or any other branch of government.

Madison's views of the constitution and the federal union were unlike those of his fellow Virginian, John Marshall, who thought the constitution should be rather strictly construed and that the federal union was a government of divided sovereignty. While Madison has been called both a "nationalist" and a "states' right man," in the extremist sense of Webster and Calhoun, he was neither. Rather, he was inclined toward a balance between the states and federal government, with each sovereign in its own sphere. He vigorously opposed the idea of nullification or secession of an individual state. Collectively, he believed the states had authority to peacefully oppose encroachments or usurpations of the general government.

Madison firmly believed in the doctrine of the separation of powers. To the legislative department belong all powers of a law-making character, including the authority over questions relating to peace and war, and the acceptance or rejection of treaties. The power of the executive should be largely confined to the administration of laws. The President should not use the veto power to interfere with legislation, neither should Congress interfere with the executive's power of appointment and removal.

Madison conceived the chief function of the courts to be to uphold the idea of limited government, yet he opposed unlimited judicial review. The function of interpreting the constitution should be exercised by the courts in cases concerning a division of sovereignty between the states and the general government; but each department of the general government, in the exercise of its respective functions, has the authority to decide what the constitution means in doubtful cases, as the three departments are coordinate. The courts were to decide controversies of a judicial nature arising under the constitution and to protect the private rights of individuals from unjust laws. Whether Madison, practical statesman that he was, believed such a delicate balance could long be maintained in the face of the powerful economic and social forces battling for supremacy within the framework of the Union, is not indicated by the author.

Dr. Burns states that Madison probably made as many original contributions to the political theory as any American of his time, not

excluding Jefferson. That seems to be a slightly exaggerated statement in the light of the conclusions of this study. Among the original contributions listed are the following: The necessity of an extensive geographic sphere of the state so the interests of the population will be too diversified for any combination to gain control; his theory of federalism, which was different from former theories of federation, particularly in respect to the doctrine that the general government would have authority to operate on the individual citizen without being the mere agent of the local government; and a modification of Locke's theory of the foundation of the state by compact. In my opinion, Madison's greatest contribution was not in the originality of his conception of political doctrines but in the practical synthesis he achieved in combining a number of conflicting theories. While Madison's views were frequently inconsistent with those formerly expressed, his shifts in thinking and in determining political policy on the basis of expediency were characteristically American.

In answering the question of whether Madison's influence has been leftward or otherwise, the author acknowledges Madison's recognition of the class struggle and the important role played by economic interests; but concludes that the force of Madison's influence was toward the center and made for a balance between the propertied interests and the masses. Any student of American political theory who wishes to understand either the past or present fundamentals of the American way cannot afford to miss reading this excellent presentation of the philosophy of one who recorded the minutes of the Constitutional Convention, wrote some of the Federalist papers, and translated some of his theories into practice as President of the United States.

Marshall College CONLEY H. DILLON
Huntington, West Virginia

WEST VIRGINIA WESLEYAN COLLEGE, 1890-1940, by Thomas W. Haught (Charleston Printing Company, 1939. Pp. 192; $2.00).

Fifty years is not a long time in the history of a nation, but it is in the history of a college or institution of learning. On the occasion of the golden anniversary of the founding of West Virginia Wesleyan College at Buckhannon, the committee decided to have a comprehensive history of the school. It was the unanimous opinion that the beloved instructor, Dr. Thomas W. Haught, who began teaching at the College in 1896, was the one to compile the history of Wesleyan.

Dr. Haught has done a scholarly piece of work. He carefully outlined his subject matter and then collected data from many sources. The seventeen chapters are replete with names of individuals who have made outstanding successes in West Virginia, and with the events that have had much to do with the history of the State.

The late Dr. F. B. Trotter served as vice-president of the College from 1890 to 1907, and as acting president in 1898. Dr. Trotter went from Wesleyan to West Virginia University where he was professor, dean, and then president for many years. The first president of Wesleyan was Dr.

B. W. Hutchinson who served from 1890 to 1898. From that time on, we find a list of outstanding scholars who have headed the school—the present one being Dr. Roy McCuskey, who, for the past nine years, has made a notable record as president of Wesleyan.

Credit is given the fine men and women who have served as members of the faculty. They have not received large salaries. In fact, Wesleyan, like all small colleges, has difficulties with finances, and, consequently, the instructors must serve with little remuneration. They are sincere people who are willing to sacrifice in order to be of service to young men and women who attend the college.

The one hundred and ninety-two pages of this book are full of interesting data, events, and references to hundreds of individuals. It is really a valuable contribution to the literature of West Virginia. It should be included in the libraries of people who are interested in the State, and especially should it be a prize possession of those who have been connected either directly or indirectly with Wesleyan College.

Charleston, W. Va. PHIL CONLEY

State History as Featured by the Press

MAGAZINES:

THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY (January, 1940), *Pamphlets and Public Opinions during the American Revolution*, by Homer L. Calkin; *The Public Ledger: An Independent Newspaper*, by Elwyn B. Robinson.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE (March, 1940), *Privateering from Baltimore during the Spanish Wars of Independence*, by Charles C. Griffin.

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY (November, 1939), *The John Brown Legend in Pictures*, by James C. Malin; (February, 1940), *Identification of the Stranger at the Pottawatomie Massacre*, by James C. Malin.

THE YALE REVIEW (Spring, 1940), *Candidates in the Spring*, by William Allen White; *National Security*, by Edward Mead Earl; *Our first Line of Defense*, by Donald W. Mitchell.

THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW (March, 1940), *Peace Factors in Anglo-American Relations, 1861-1865*, by Martin C. Claussen.

THE OHIO STATE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL QUARTERLY (January-March, 1940), *The People of Ohio's First County*, by Wayne Jordan; *The Political Philosophy of Arthur St. Clair;* (April-June, 1940); *The Possible Cultural Affiliation of Flint Disk Caches*, by H. Holmes Ellis; *Fugitive Slave Cases in Ohio Prior to 1850*, by Leo Alilunas, (references to West Virginia); *Unpublished Letters of Dr. Daniel Drake*, by Alice McGuffy Ruggles, (references to West Virginia).

MINNESOTA HISTORY (March, 1940), *A Literary Critic Looks at History*, by James Gray.

THE VIRGINIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY (April, 1940), *William Byrd Title Book*, continued; *A Crisis in Education, 1834, (Washington College)* continued, by William D. Hoyt, Jr.; *Virginia in 1726.*

TYLER'S QUARTERLY HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL MAGAZINE (April, 1940), *The Parson's Cause, 1755-65*, by Glenn Curtis Smith, continued.

THE JOURNAL OF SOUTHERN HISTORY (May, 1940), *Confederate Medicine*, by George Worthington Adams; *Indebted Railroads: A Problem of*

Reconstruction, by E. G. Campbell; *Two Decades of Historical Activity in Virginia*, by Lester J. Cappon; *The South and the Progressive Lily-White Party of 1912*, by George E. Mowry.

THE REGISTER OF THE KENTUCKY STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY (April, 1940), *In Memory of Stephen Collins Foster, 1826-1864*, by Willard Rouse Jillson.

INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY (March, 1940), *Indiana's First Geological Survey*, by Walter B. Hendrickson (refers to West Virginia).

NATIONAL HISTORICAL MAGAZINE (May, 1940), *Excursions Through the Waters of Yesterday*, by Mary Jane Brumley (relates to the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, James Rumsey, B. and O. and C. and O. Railroads).

MICHIGAN HISTORY MAGAZINE (Spring, 1940), *The Negro People in Michigan*, by John C. Dancy (concerns John Brown and Booker T. Washington).

WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE QUARTERLY (April, 1940), *Letters of George Washington to Lord Dunmore; Documents Relating to the Early History of the College of William and Mary and to the History of the Church in Virginia.*

WEST VIRGINIA REVIEW, *Beginning of a Great Industry—Oil Drilling Methods Were Invented in Kanawha Valley*, by Lon Williams (March); *The Story of McDowell County, and Pioneers*, by Houston Kermit Hunter (April); *The Economic Picture of West Virginia*, by H. E. Laupp; *West Virginia and Its Banks*, by George Ward; *West Virginia Network in Review*, by Leo Peters; *Strawberry Festival, An Annual Event in Buckhannon, West Virginia*, by Beatrice Lohmann; *A Boy's Dream that became a Reality—Biogaphical Sketch of O. J. Morrison*, by James R. Cavitt (May).

THE WEST VIRGINIA ENGINEER, *Fort Ashby, Built in 1755 as Indian Defense, Restored, in Mineral County* (March).

STATE GOVERNMENT (May, 1940), *West Virginia Explores Judicial and Administrative Reforms*, by Frances P. DeLancy.

NEWSPAPERS:

THE BRAXTON DEMOCRAT, *John D. Sutton, Author, Soldier and Statesman, Observes 96th Birthday*, February 2.

THE CHARLESTON GAZETTE, *Lincoln, A Relative of Daniel Boone*, by Roy Bird Cook, February 10; *Great Names of Early Theater, Appeared at Opera House Razed in 1919; First "Flickers" Shown in 1906*, March 17; *Mansion House is Standing on Site of Early Indian Battle* (Point Pleasant), March 24; *Kanawha County Court House Razed 52 years ago; Sketch of Herbert Fitzpatrick*, April 7; *Proud Name Given to New High School*, April 14; *U. S. Officer's Letters Bare Early Contempt for South —Reveal Details of Army Movements in This Section*, April 22.

THE WESTON DEMOCRAT, *Bits of Lewis County History*, February 16 and March 1; *Story of Famous Indian Fighter*, (Jesse Hughes), by John F. Morrison, March 22; *Cemetery 120 Years Old—140 Names Still Legible on Sandstone Markers. Among Pioneers Buried there are Alexander Scott Withers, Elizabeth Pumphrey (born 1786), Elizabeth Talbott, Weedon Hoffman and Major Henry Withers*, April 19; *Story of Henry Flesher Who Belonged to Company of Indian Spies during the Revolutionary War*, April 26; *First School History in Weston and Lewis County*, May 3.

WHEELING INTELLIGENCER, *Taylor's Ridge in Marshall County, Possesses Wealth of History—First Settler, John Taylor, Built His Cabin About 1770*, April 12; *First Ward School, Moundsville, is Landmark in Marshall County*, March 29; *Historic Oak Grove Union Chapel Being Restored—Built, 1882*, May 9.

CHARLESTON DAILY MAIL, *Benjamin Wilson*, February 18; *State Rebel Returned Sword to Prisoner 47 Years Later*, February 25; *Steamboat Blueridge Explosion*, March 3; *Historical Sketch, Saint Albans*, April 7; (all of these articles are by George W. Summers); *Graven Stone Key to Mound Builders?—Inscribed Stone Found in Braxton County, 1931—Acquired by Department of Archives and History*, April 21.

EXPONENT-TELEGRAM (Clarksburg), *Old Newspaper Story Discloses Almost Forgotten Story of Indian-Fighting Days; Wilson Family, Termed One of State's Largest—Many Noted Descendants of Benjamin Wilson*, February 18; *First Roads in Harrison County Followed Indian Trails*, May 5.

CLARKSBURG EXPONENT, *Ritchie Woman is Author of Mount Vernon Volume— Minnie Kendall Lowther*, February 22; *Harbert Fort on Ten Mile was Scene of Indian Raid*, March 24; *County Seat of Doddridge Was First Named Lewisport; West Union Built on Land Purchased in 1807 for 23 Cents per Acre*, April 14; *Circuit Riders Were Among Braxton's Pioneers, Baptist and M. E. Ministers First to Arrive, Services Held in Homes of Settlers—First Preachers in 1808, Henry Cunningham, Early Church Leader*, April 19; *Dedicated Monument to "Brown's Raid" Victim*, May 2.

DOMINION-NEWS (Morgantown) *First School in Clinton District Began in 1854*, February 23; *Legend Tells of Silver Dollars Buried in State—Story of "Lost Silver Mine,"* February 28.

THE SHINNSTON NEWS, *Letters to John C. Shinn Give Much Family History*, February 22.

MOOREFIELD EXAMINER, *Old Indian Forts*, February 21; *John Hinegardner Bowman*, March 6; *John Statton Kessel*, March 13 (these sketches appear in "Old Timer Column").

CALHOUN CHRONICLE, *Washington "First" in Farming, Too*, February 22; *Deerfield Massacre in 1704*, February 29.

HERALD-DISPATCH, *Old Hero Ship to Sail Again—Battered Old Liner Which Fired the First Shot in the World War*, February 28; *Chimneys of State Foundries Crumble—Historical Notes*, April 7; *Family History of Isaac Christian Smith*, by Wiatt Smith, April 17.

CLARKSBURG TELEGRAM, *Upshur Woman Has Book Which Was Printed in 1766*, February 27; *Sketch of Hubert Skidmore, the Novelist, Native of Webster County*, April 11; *Old Landmark Built in Civil War Days, Torn Down—One of Oldest Homes in Clarksburg*, April 11; *Wesleyan to Observe 50th Anniversary—Historical Sketch*, by Marjorie Talbott, April 26; *Presbyterians Celebrate 34th Anniversary in Oldest Church Structure in Richwood*, April 30.

WHEELING NEWS-REGISTER, *One Hundred Years of Bethany*, February 23; *Coal By-Products Give New Industry*, March 10; *Washington Graves at Wheeling; Chemical Treasures Buried in Hills of West Virginia*, April 7; *Coal Plays An Important Part in Daily Life of America*, April 14; *Bethany College Centennial Supplement, 1840-1940*, April 28; *Zion Lutheran Church, Observes 90th Anniversary—Historical Sketch; Ohio County's First Library Opened 80 Years Ago*, May 5; *Historical Sketch of West Virginia's Florence Crittenden Home*, May 15.

CHURCH MESSENGER (Oak Hill), *West Virginia Historical Notes*, March.

WAYNE COUNTY NEWS, *Deerfield Massacre in 1704 Was Most Historic Event Ever to Take Place on Calendar's Rare Date*, March 1.

NICHOLAS CHRONICLE, *Historical Article on Traveling in West Virginia in the Spring*, April 11.

WEST VIRGINIA NEWS (Ronceverte), *McKinley to Rowan to Garcia*, by A. C. Azoy, March 7; *Plaque Will Commemorate Famous "Old White" Hotel Built in 1858*, by Michael Bowyer; *Modern Highway Follows Old Indian War Trail*, by George W. Summers; *Sugar Making in Greenbrier One Hundred Years Ago*, April 4.

TIMES-WEST VIRGINIA (Fairmont), *Coal and Coal Products*, March 10.

BROOKE NEWS, *Historical Bits: Events that Took Place Back in 1797*, March 8; *Brooke County's Greatest Fight—Andrew Poe and Two Indians*, March 15.

PARKERSBURG NEWS, *Newspaper of 1863 Contains Address of West Virginia's First Governor, Arthur I. Boreman*, March 17; *Washington Graves at Wheeling*, April 7; *Old Issue of Parkersburg Sentinel Gives Thrilling Story of Williamstown's Pioneer—How Isaac Williams Warned Settlers of Indians' Coming*, April 14.

BLUEFIELD DAILY TELEGRAPH, *County of Giles Created in 1806—Early Settlement Recalled*, March 20.

THE POCAHONTAS TIMES, *Place Names in Pocahontas County*, by Dr. N. R. Price, March 28.

MORGAN MESSENGER, *Anniversary and Brief History of the Telephone—First in Morgan County in 1881*, March 21.

GRANTSVILLE NEWS, *McGlothlin, Local Teacher, Writing History of Calhoun County*, March 21.

MOUNDSVILLE JOURNAL, *History in Ancient Newspaper—Resurrected, "Leslie's Brings Back Sixties,"* March 23.

SPIRIT OF JEFFERSON (Charles Town), *Historical Castlemans Ferry*, by Maurice F. Castleman, March 27.

JACKSON HERALD (Ripley), *Legend of Headless Soldier of Donahue's Lane—Early War History is Reviewed in Story of Pioneer*, March 29.

THE MONROE WATCHMAN (Union), *Thomas Jefferson Sued Aaron Burr in Old District Court at Sweet Springs—Case Between Two Famous Men 138 Years Ago Uncovered by Re-Indexing Project*, March 28; *Interesting Early History of C. & O. Tunnels in this Section*, April 11; *Origin of Duncans—Some Descendants of Family Settled in Monroe County*, April 25.

PRINCETON OBSERVER, *West Virginia in the Civil War*, March 28 and April 11.

MORGANTOWN POST, *Book on Revolutionary Soldiers Buried in West Virginia*, compiled by Mrs. Lawrence Cox, April 2; *Bird Paintings of Dr. George M. Sutton of Bethany, Displayed in Whitney Wing of American Museum of Natural History, New York*, April 11; *Historic Landmark Passing with Razing of Old Home, Built by Michael Kerns in 1772—Kerns Built First Grist Mill in this Part of the Country—Kerns Fort* (in rear of his home) *One of the Largest in the Country*, April 20.

WESTON INDEPENDENT, *John Caruthers, in War of 1812—Historical Sketch*, April 3; *Weston, First Called "Preston" and then "Flesherville" —First Home Built by Henry Flesher in 1784—List of Families there in 1860*, by Cordelia Mollendick, April 17.

FAIRMONT TIMES, *Rivesville Known as Milford*, April 4 and 5; *Sketch of Dr. Charles W. Cowan, First Editor of Mannington Times*, April 8; *Historical Sketches—Jacob Beeson, John Fisher, John W. Lott, Ellery R. Hall; Window Glass Factory, Established in Wheeling, 1821*, April 9; *The Gump Family—Other Genealogical Data*, by Mrs. Clara Wilson of Fort Worth, Texas, April 19; *Partial Report of First Free Schools in Marion County, by John A. Boyd, County Superintendent in 1867*, April 23.

STATE SENTINEL (Fayetteville), *Thomas Jefferson Sued Aaron Burr in Monroe—Copy of Court Records, September 21, 1802*, April 10.

LOGAN BANNER, *Veteran of "Battle of Waterloo" Buried at Peck's Mill; Taylor Family History*, April 24.

PRESTON COUNTY JOURNAL, *The Surprise of the Brandonville Settlement*, continued, by F. J. Van Newkirk, April 25.

SERIALS (CONTINUED)

THE MOUNTAINEER (Ripley), *Early History of Pioneer Days in Jackson County*, began February 16, 1939.

GRAFTON SENTINEL, *A History of Taylor County*, by Charles Brinkman, began April 18, 1939.

RAVENSWOOD NEWS, *One Hundred Years of Ravenswood Postoffice History.*

CHARLESTON GAZETTE, *Chemical Charleston*, (each Sunday).

Recent Publications of Interest to West Virginians

West Virginia: The Mountain State, by Charles H. Ambler, Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1940.

Life and Times of Felix Grundy, by Joseph Howard Parks, Louisiana State University Press, Louisiana, 1940. (Felix Grundy was born in Berkeley County, West Virginia.)

Filibustering in the Senate, by Franklin Burdette, (West Virginia author), Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1940.

Utopia Inc., by Herman Gieske (West Virginia author), Fortuny's, New York, 1940.

The Planting of Civilization in Western Pennsylvania, by Solon J. Buck and Elizabeth H. Buck, University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 1939.

Gadd Genealogy, by Joseph Hayden Gadd, Princeton, West Virginia, 1939.

Genealogy of the Andrew Johnson Family (Hampshire County, West Virginia), by Annie Dent Davis, Greensboro, North Carolina, 1940.

The Development of Certain Motor Skills and Play Activities in Young Children, by Mrs. Theresa Dower Jones (West Virginia author), Columbia University Press, New York, 1940.

The Singin' Gatherin'—Tunes from the Southern Appalachians, by Jean Thomas and Joseph A. Leeder, Silver Burdette Co., New York, 1939.

Inventory of Church Archives of Virginia—Dover Baptist Association. Prepared by the Virginia Historical Records Survey Project, Richmond, Virginia, 1939.

Marriage Bonds of Franklin County, Virginia. Compiled by Marshall Wingfield, West Tennessee Historical Society, Memphis, Tennessee, 1940.

The Ohio-Mississippi Valley Flood Disaster of 1937. Report of Operations of the American Red Cross, Washington, District of Columbia, 1940.

The Old and the Quaint in Virginia, by Georgia Dickinson Wardlow, Dietz Press, Richmond, Virginia, 1939.

Biography of Americans, 1658-1936: A Subject Bibliography, by Ed-

ward H. O'Neil, University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 1939.

Antislavery Origins of the Civil War in the United States, by Dwight Lowell Dumond, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1939.

Iron Brew, by Stewart H. Holbrook. (A story of certain aspects of the Iron and Steel industry in the U. S.) Macmillan Company, New York, 1939.

The Slavery Controversy, 1831-1860, by Arthur Young Lloyd, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1939.

Thaddeus Stevens, by Alphonse B. Miller, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1939.

A Short History of the American Negro, by Benjamin Brawley, Macmillan Company, New York, 1939.

The West Virginia Medical Directory, Compiled by Dr. A. B. Bowyer of Elkview, Kanawha County, West Virginia. (Contains names of 1860 physicians of West Virginia with brief biographical sketches.) Press of the Buckhannon Record, Buckhannon, West Virginia, 1940.

The Circuit Rider Dismounts: A Social History of Southern Methodism, 1865-1900, by Hunter Dickinson Farish, Dietz Press, Richmond, Virginia, 1938.

The Early Writings of Frederick Jackson Turner, by Everett E. Edwards, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, Wisconsin, 1938.

Some Historic Houses, edited by John C. Fitzpatrick. Published under the auspices of the National Society of Colonial Dames of America, Macmillan Company, New York, 1940.

Historic Quilts, by Florence Peto, The American Historical Company, New York, 1940.

Indians of the Americas, by Edwin R. Embree, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, Massachusetts, 1939.

Indian Arts in North America, by George C. Vaillant, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1939.

Abraham Lincoln: The War Years, by Carl Sandburg, Harcourt Brace and Company, New York, 1939.

Business Enterprise in the American Revolutionary Era, by Robert A. East, Columbia University Press, New York, 1938.

American Potters and Pottery, by John Ramsey, Hale, Cushman and Flint, Boston, Massachusetts, 1939.

Our Little Friends (A First Reader for Schools), by Mae Evans Reid, of Beckley, West Virginia.

Teaching in the Elementary School, by Dr. W. A. Saucier, of the Educational Department, Wesleyan College, Buckhannon, W. Va.

Hanover County, Virginia, Chancery Wills and Notes, compiled by William Ronald Cocke, III. Published by W. R. Cocke, Columbia, Virginia, 1940.

East Tennessee and Western Virginia Mountain Ballads, compiled by Celestin Pierre Cambiaire, The Mitre Press, London.

The Mound Builders, (Continued Study Units), by C. B. Allman, F. A. Davis Company, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1940.

Cabell County Courthouses, 1809-1940, by George S. Wallace, Standard Printing and Publishing Company, Huntington, West Virginia, 1940.

The Life and Times of Lewis Wetzel, (Revised Edition), by C. B. Allman, E. V. Publishing House, Nappanee, Indiana, 1940.

Recent Accessions to the State Department of Archives and History

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LIBRARY:

Collection of letters and papers of Nelson B. Coleman, relating to early steamboating on the Kanawha River and to the salt industry in the Kanawha Valley. These papers were given to the State by Mr. Coleman's granddaughter, Mrs. W. A. Markell of Charleston, West Virginia, to supplement a collection previously donated.

Four account books, dated 1830, 1851, and 1869, which were used on steamboats plying between Kanawha Salines and Cincinnati; *a number of photostats of War Records*, including the muster rolls of Captains Joseph Johnson and George J. Davisson, War of 1812, and some records relating to pensions for Revolutionary soldiers; and *Records of the Episcopal Church:* Council Journal for 1892 and 1893, all donated by Dr. Roy Bird Cook of Charleston, West Virginia.

Photostatic Copies, fourteen in all, of papers, maps and accounts, etc., pertaining to early settlers and historic data of Mineral County, West Virginia, with an historical sketch of each, contributed by J. C. Sanders of Keyser, West Virginia.

MUSEUM:

Thirteen pieces of the early glassware made in West Virginia—some pieces of it having been made as early as 1825. This glass is a valuable addition to a fine collection in the possession of this State, all of which has been donated by Miss Anna Stratton, of Gary, West Virginia.

A small rectangular inscribed stone, with characters similar to the Grave Creek Stone, which was said to have been taken from the Great Mound at Moundsville, in 1838, when it was opened by A. B. Tomlinson. This second stone was found in Braxton County, by Blaine Wilson, in 1931. It was acquired from him in 1940 for the State Museum.

Steel bear trap, about 150 years old, owned and used by Fleming Cobbs, the noted pioneer and Indian scout of the Kanawha Valley, donated by his great-grandson, George Cobbs, of Spring Hill, West Virginia.

Compass Marks, used by Mark Twain on the Mississippi River when he was learning to pilot. Loaned by the owner, Captain Rolla F. Rogers, Buffalo, West Virginia.

Antique Wooden Clock, probably 100 years old, and still in good running order. All of the wheels, with the exception of the escape wheel, are made entirely of wood; *Long Wave Radio Receiving Transformer*, this was the "last word" in wireless equipment in 1916; and an *Oscillation Transformer*—early "wireless" transmitters used this style equipment to couple a spark transmitter to the antenna. These items were loaned by R. I. Boone of Charleston, West Virginia.

Contributors

William Couper is a native of Norfolk, Virginia. After his V. M. I. Cadetship he was graduated from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. A Civil engineer, he has been connected with many large construction operations, and this same work was continued during the World War, when he was commissioned a lieutenant colonel and served in the Construction Division of the Army. For the past fifteen years Colonel Couper has been the executive officer of the Virginia Military Institute, the physical plant of which has been almost entirely rebuilt in that period. He is the author of numerous articles and the following books: *History of the New York Tunnel and Terminal Extension of the Pennsylvania Railroad; The V. M. I. New Market Cadets; Claudius Crozet: Soldier—Scholar—Educator—Engineer;* and *One Hundred Years at V. M. I.*, a four volume history of the institution of which Colonel Crozet was presiding officer during the first seven years.

Betty Cook, a West Virginian, is the daughter of the editor of *West Virginia History*, Dr. Roy Bird Cook. Miss Cook received her B.S. degree from the University of Cincinnati, Ohio, and is a member of Kappa Delta Pi and Pi Theta. She is a teacher in Kanawha School, Charleston, West Virginia, and for two years has been a member of the Morris Harvey Laboratory Summer School.

Elizabeth Cometti, for biographical sketch see Volume one, Number two.

Julius Cohen received his education from the University of West Virginia (A.B., A.M., and LL.B.); and Harvard Law School (LL.M., 1938). He has contributed to such journals as the *Columbia Law Review*, *Cornell Law Review*, *Cincinnati Law Review*, and the *West Virginia Law Review*. At present he is an Assistant Professor of Political Science in the University of West Virginia.

John Carter Matthews is a native of Virginia. He received his education at Davidson College (A.B.); and the University of Virginia (M.A. and Ph.D.). Since 1934 he has been Professor of History at King College, Bristol, Tennessee. His particular fields of interest are the Revolutionary and Middle periods of American history. At present Dr. Matthews is working on a biography of Richard Henry Lee.

Lloyd L. Brown is a native of West Virginia. He received his education in Fairmont State Teachers College (A.B.). He received his A.M. degree in the field of History at West Virginia University, and has done graduate work in this field by summer sessions, since then. He

taught in rural schools, and for six years in the East Fairmont High School. At present he is in the History Department at New River State College, Montgomery, West Virginia.

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PHILIP MALLORY CONLEY, for biographical sketch, see Volume One, Number One.

Editor's Page

The editor, Dr. Roy Bird Cook, has graciously relinquished his page in this issue, in order that the Department of Archives and History might send the following message to the readers and subscribers of *West Virginia History*.

In response to the many suggestions from historically minded West Virginians, this Department is sponsoring a one-day meeting for the purpose of organizing a West Virginia Historical Society. The meeting will be held in Charleston, West Virginia, during the first week of October — definite date to be announced later.

The need for an active state organization to collect and preserve historical material and to stimulate interest in West Virginia History is obvious. This Department believes there are many persons who are aware of this need and will be happy to make the sacrifice necessary to assist in organizing such a society.

Details for the program of the day are now being arranged and will be announced later in a circular letter to subscribers of *West Virginia History* and to other interested persons. This program will include an address by a nationally known speaker and forum discussions.

The success of this undertaking will depend entirely upon the co-operation of everyone interested in West Virginia History, and this Department is confident of receiving it.

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